George W. Jacobs

George Jacobs

G. Wm. Jacobs

D. College

Carlisle Pa.

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Hic Liber est meus,
Testis est Deus;
Siquis furetur,
Per collum pendetur.

George W. Jacobs

George Jacobs

C. CRISPI SALLUSTII BELLI CATILINARII ET JUGURTHINI HISTORIAE.

NOTIS BREVISSIMIS, CRITICIS, HISTORICIS, GEOGRAPHICIS, &c. ILLUSTRAVIT

P. WILSON, LL. D.

LITT. GRÆC. ET LAT. &c. IN COLLEGIO COLUMBIANO NEO-EBORACENSI PROFESSOR.

NOVI-EBORACI:

TYPIS T. ET J. SWORDS.

IMPENSIS F. NICHOLS.

1808.

District of Pennsylvania, to wit.

(L. S.)

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the sixth day of June, in the thirty-second year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1808, FRANCIS NICHOLS, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the words following, to wit: "*C. Crispi Sallustii Belli Catilinarii et Jugurthini Historiæ. Notis Brevissimis, Criticis, Historicis, Geographicis, &c. illustravit P. Wilson, LL. D. Litt. Græc. et Lat. &c. in Collegio Columbiano Neo-Eboracensi Professor.*"

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the Times therein mentioned;" and also to the Act, entitled, "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, 'An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the Times therein mentioned,' and extending the Benefits thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving, and Etching Historical and other Prints."

D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the District of Pennsylvania.

LECTORI S.

IN hac Sallustii editione, textus doctissimi Cortii, ex Hunterino exemplari, Andreapoli impresso, exhibetur, pauculis, praesertim interpunctionibus, mutatis. Orthographia antiquior, & quaecunque Sallustii propria sunt, fidelissime retinentur.

C. CRISPI

SALLUSTII

BELLUM CATILINARIUM.

[a]OMNIS [b]homines qui [c]sese student praestare ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet, vitam silentio ne transeant, veluti pecora, quae natura [d]prona, atque ventri obedientia, finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore [e]sita: animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur: [f]alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum belluis commune est. [g]Quo mihi rectius videtur ingenii, quam virium opibus, gloriam quaerere; et, quoniam vita ipsa, qua fruimur, brevis est, [h]memoriam nostri [i]quam maxume longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis; virtus clara aeternaque habetur.

[a] *Omnis.* The accusative plural, more usually written *omnes.* Nouns, whose genitive plural ends in *ium*, have *es*, *is*, or *eis* in the accusative plural. These accusatives in *is*, however, have their last syllable always long, because it originates from the dipthongal syllable *eis*, which was the most ancient termination.

[b] *Homines.* *Homo* properly signifies one of the human species, and includes both sexes.

[c] *Sese student præstare.* A pleonasm for *student præstare.*

[d] *Prona.* Bending, or stooping downward.

[e] *Sita.* *Est* is understood: in some copies it is expressed. The substantive verb is frequently understood in the best authors, particularly in Sallust.

[f] *Alterum.* *Alter* signifies one of two, *alius* one of many.

[g] *Quo.* Used for *qua propter*, wherefore.

[h] *Memoriam nostri.* The remembrance of ourselves; *memoriam nostram*, our memory, referring to the mental faculty.

[i] *Quam maxume longam.* As long as possible.

Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, vine corporis, an virtute animi, res militaris magis procederet. Nam et prius, quam [k]incipias, consulto; et, ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est. Ita utrumque per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio eget.

II. IGITUR initio reges (nam in terris nomen [l]imperii id primum fuit) [m]diversi, pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant: et jam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate [n]agitabatur; sua cuique satis placebant. Postea vero quam in Asia [o]Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbes atque nationes subigere, [p]lubidinem dominandi caussam belli habere, maxúmam gloriam in maxumo imperio putare; tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum est, in bello plurimum ingenium posse. [q]Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita, uti in bello, valeret, [r]aequabilius atque [r]constantius [r]sese res humanae [r]haberent; neque [s]aliud alio ferri, neque mutari ac [t]misceri omnia cerneres. Nam imperium facile his artibus

k *Incipias.* Before you begin, instead of, before one begins. The second person is thus frequently used with much elegance.

l *Imperii.* Of government, i. e. of those who exercised dominion, or administered government. The office put for the officer. A Meton.

m *Diversi.* Agreeing with *reges.*

n *Agitabatur.* Used for *agebatur;* the frequentative for the simple verb: a practice very frequent with our author.

o *Cyrus.* The Great, founder of the Persian empire.

p *Lubidinem dominandi.* Ambition, a desire of dominion.

q *Quod si.* But if. *Quod* before *si* is commonly used for *sed.*

r *Æquabilius & constantius,* &c. Would be more uniform and steady. A more elegant expression than *æquabiliores & constantiores essent.*

s *Aliud alio ferri.* In expressions of this kind, that the meaning may be more clear and explicit in English, the Latin words must be repeated.

t *Misceri.* To be thrown into confusion.

retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verum, ubi pro [u]labore desidia, pro [v]continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optumum quemque a minus bono transfertur. Quae homines [w]arant, navigant, aedificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam, sicuti peregrinantes, transegere; quibus, profecto contra naturam, corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque [x]juxta aestumo, quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enim vero is demum mihi vivere atque frui anima videtur, qui, aliquo negotio intentus, praeclari facinoris, aut artis bonae famam quaerit. Sed, [y]in magna cópia rerum, [z]aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

III. PULCHRUM est bene facere reipublicae: etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est. Vel pace, vel bello, clarum fieri licet: et qui fecere, et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, [a]tamen etsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem et [b]auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur [c]res gestas scribere: primum, quod facta [d]dictis sunt exaequanda: dehinc, quia plerique, quae

[u] *Pro labore. Labor* is here taken for a disposition to labour.

[v] *Pro continentia*, &c. Instead of moderation and equity, passion and pride.

[w] *Arant*, &c. An unusual mode of writing, for *arando, navigando*, &c. *parant*.

[x] *Juxta*. Alike. A preposition used adverbially by enallage.

[y] *In magna copia rerum*. In the great variety of employments.

[z] *Aliud alii*. To comprehend this mode of expression, which often occurs, see note *s* in the preceding page.

[a] *Tamen etsi*. Afterwards contracted into *tametsi*.

[b] *Auctorem*. In other editions is found *actorem*. If the latter reading be adopted, *actorem rerum* will be a pleonasm.

[c] *Res gestas*. A history: which in those days was little more than a description of the exploits, or gallant actions of military commanders.

[d] *Dictis*. By the language or style.

delicta reprehenderis, malivolentia et invidia [e]putant: ubi de magna virtute et gloria [f]bonorum memores, quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat, aequo animo accipit; supra ea, veluti ficta, pro falsis ducit. Sed ego adolescentulus, initio, sicuti plerique, [g]studio ad rempublicam latus sum; [h]ibique mihi advorsa multa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigebant. Quae tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium; tamen, inter tanta vitia, imbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur: ac me, cum ab [i]reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido, eadem, quæ ceteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.

IV. IGITUR, ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam aetatem a republica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium, secordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere; neque vero agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus officiis intentum, aetatem agere: sed, a quo incepto [k]studio me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas populi Romani

[e] *Putant.* In some editions *dicta* is inserted before *putant;* but the reading in the text is preferred, because the word *reprehensa* evidently appears from the context to be understood.

[f] *Bonorum.* So highly was military glory prized both among the Greeks and Romans, that the same term in both languages signified both *virtue* and *bravery.* *Vir fortis* in Latin is often equivalent to a man of worth, and *bonus* here and in many other instances signifies *brave,* as is clear from the context.

[g] *Studio,* &c. I was led by inclination to engage in public business.

[h] *Ibique.* *Ibi* is used for *in eo,* or *in ea,* referring to *studio,* or *rempublicam.*

[i] *Reliquorum.* In some editions we find *reliquis,* and if *fama* be taken for a desire of fame, the latter reading will be most consonant to the sense; but *fama* may be taken for *fama mala,* or *infamia,* obloquy.

[k] *Studio.* Some read *studioque,* making *incepto* a substantive. The reading in the text is most simple.

[l]carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu; [m]partibus reipublicae animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinae conjuratione, quam verissume potero, [n]paucis absolvam: nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo, sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

V. LUCIUS CATILINA, [o]nobili genere natus, magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis, grata fuere; [p]ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus [q]patiens inediae, vigiliae, algoris, supra quam cuique credibile est: animus audax, subdolus, [r]varius, cujus rei libet [s]simulator ac dissimulator: alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus: satis [t]loquentiae, sapientiae parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc, post dominationem [u]Lucii Sullae, lubido maxuma invaserat reipublicae capiundae; neque, id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, [v]quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in

l *Carptim.* By pieces or parcels, piecemeal. Others read *strictim*, briefly.

m *Partibus reipublicæ.* Political factions or parties. The copulative, to avoid flatness, is frequently omitted by our author.

n *Paucis absolvam.* *Narrationem* or *historiam* understood.

o *Nobili.* Cataline was a Patrician of an ancient family.

p *Ibi.* Taken for *in eis*, or *in illis rebus.*

q *Patiens.* An adjective noun, able to endure; *patiens*, a participle, suffering.

r *Varius.* Capable of assuming any shape or character.

s *Simulator*, &c. *Simulare*, to pretend to be what one is not; *dissimulare*, to dissemble.

t *Loquentiæ.* A better reading than *eloquentiæ*, found in some editions.

u *Lucii Sullæ.* Lucius Sulla usurped and enjoyed the perpetual dictatorship.

v *Quidquam pensi*, &c. Nor did he regard.

dies animus ferox, inopia rei familiaris, et conscientia scelerum; quae utraque his artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi. Incitabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma ac [w]diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. [x]Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis [y]tempus admonuit, supra repetere, ac, paucis, instituta majorum domi militiaeque; quomodo rempublicam habuerint, quantamque reliquerint; ut paullatim immutata, ex pulcherruma, pessuma ac flagitiosissuma facta sit, disserere.

VI. URBEM Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui, Aenea duce, profugi, sedibus incertis vagabantur; cumque his [z]Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una moenia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, [a]alii alio more viventes; incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint. Sed, postquam [b]res eorum [c]civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera, satisque pollens videbatur; [d]sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello [e]ten-

w *Diversa.* Opposite.

x *Res ipsa.* The subject itself.

y *Tempus.* The occasion.

z *Aborigines.* The original inhabitants: some think *Aborigines* to be the proper name of some people.

a *Alii.* Other editions have *alius.* That in the text is the most simple construction; though *alius* being a partitive, may be connected to a plural noun.

b *Res.* Here taken for *respublica.*

c *Civibus—aucta.* In conformity with the idiom of the Latin language, *aucta* will apply to all these nouns; though each of them in English requires a different participle. Increased in number of citizens, improved in manners, and enlarged in territory.

d *Sicuti pleraque,* &c. As is the case for the most part among men.

e *Tentare, esse.* The infinitive for the perfect indicative; a practice more frequent with Sallust than with any other author.

tare: pauci ex amicis auxilio [e]esse; nam ceteri, metu [f]percussi, a periculis aberant. At Romani, domi militiaeque intenti, [g]festinare, parare, alius alium hortari; hostibus obviam ire; libertatem, patriam, parentesque armis tegere: post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant; magisque dandis quam accipiundis beneficiis, amicitias parabant. Imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regium habebant: delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum, reipublicae consultabant: hi, vel aetate, vel curae similitudine, PATRES appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod, initio, conservandae libertatis, atque augendae [h]reipublicae fuerat, in superbiam [i]dominationemque convertit; immutato more, annua imperia, binosque imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo minume posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

VII. SED ea tempestate [k]coepere se quisque extollere, magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni, quam mali, suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu est, [l]adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriae incesse-

f *Percussi.* Other editions have *perculsi.* Either of the words is admissible.

g *Festinare, parare.* The infinitive again for the perfect indicative. This observation need not be again repeated.

h *Reipublicæ fuerat.* An unusual construction. *Causa* may be understood; in some editions it is expressed. *Fuerat* must then be taken for *constitutum fuerat.* The sentence may be completed otherwise thus: *quod initio fuerat conservandæ libertatis,* i. e. *ad conservandam libertatem paratum.*

i *Dominationem.* Tyranny.

k *Coepere se quisque extollere.* Other editions have *magis magisque extollere. Quisque,* being a partitive pronoun, admits a plural verb.

l *Adepta libertate. Adipiscor,* being a common verb, is used in a passive, as well as in an active sense.

rat. Jam primum juventus, [m]simul laboris ac [n]belli patiens erat, in castris per usum militiam discebat: magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis, quam in scortis atque conviviis, lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper, aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus: [o]virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriae maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat: [p]sese quisque hostem ferire, murum adscendere, conspici dum tale facinus faceret, properabat: [q]eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant: laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant: gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis [r]maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit; quas urbes, natura munitas, pugnando ceperit; [s]ni ea res longius ab incepto traheret.

VIII. SED profecto Fortuna in omni re dominatur: ea [t]res cunctas, ex lubidine magis quam ex vero, celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti ego [u]aestumo, satis amplae magnificae-

m *Simul*, &c. For *simul ac*, which are the words in some editions, in which *laboris ac* are omitted.

n *Belli*. The Roman youth were liable to be called into military service at 17 years of age, and were exempted at 46. Afterwards they continued to serve till they were 50 years of age.

o *Virtus*. Fortitude.

p *Sese*. For *se*. This pronoun is omitted in most editions: *sese ferire* is a pleonasm, similar to *sese præstare*.

q *Eas divitias——putabant*. An uncommon mode of expression: instead of *in iis rebus divitias, &c. posita esse putabant;* or, *eas divitias esse veras divitias, eam famam bonam esse famam*, &c.

r *Maxumas*. An archaism frequent in this author, for *maximas*.

s *Ni ea res*. For *ni id*, a mode of expression frequent in Sallust.

t *Res cunctas*. For *cuncta*.

u *Æstumo*. An archaism for *æstimo*. Other editions have *existimo*.

que fuere; verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed, quia provenere ibi [v]scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis [w]eam potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. At populo Romano numquam [x]ea copia fuit: quia prudentissimus quisque negotiosus maxume erat; ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat; [y]optumus quisque facere, quam dicere; sua ab aliis benefacta laudari, quam ipse aliorum narrare, malebat.

IX. IGITUR domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur; concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat; jus [z]bonumque apud eos, non legibus magis quam natura, valebat. Jurgia, discordias, simultates, cum hostibus exercebant: cives cum civibus de virtute certabant: in [a]suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicis fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat, aequitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta haec habeo; quod sæpius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius, revocati, bello excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere, aut,

v *Scriptorum.* Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and others.

w *Eam.* Referring to *virtutem.* In some other editions we find *ea*, agreeing with *ingenia.*

x *Ea copia.* That advantage.

y *Optumus.* An archaism for *optimus:* thus *minuma* for *minima* in the next sentence. This use of *u* for *i* is common in Sallust, and requires no further notice.

z *Bonum.* A substantive, goodness or virtue: *bona* in the plural signifies goods or effects.

a *Suppliciis.* Sacrifices, worship. *Supplicium* signifies both punishment and supplication, worship or sacrifice; because the subject of punishment was supposed both to avert the wrath of the gods, by suffering, or bearing the penalty on behalf of the people; and to engage the deities to listen to their prayers, by being offered as a sacrifice for their guilt. The goods of criminals were also made an offering to the offended deity.

pulsi, loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, quod beneficiis, [b]quam metu, imperium [c]agitabant, et, accepta injuria, ignoscere, quam persequi, malebant.

X. SED, ubi labore atque justitia respublica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae, et [d]populi ingentes vi subacti, [e]Carthago, aemula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant; saevire Fortuna, ac miscere omnia, coepit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, iis otium, divitiae [f]optandae aliis, oneri miseriaeque fuere. Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperii cupido crevit: ea quasi [g]materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, ceterasque [h]artis bonas subvertit; pro his, superbiam, crudelitatem, deos [i]neglegere, omnia venalia habere, edocuit: ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere; amicitias inimicitiasque, non ex [k]re, sed ex commodo, aestumare; magisque vultum, quam ingenium bonum habere. Haec primo paullatim crescere, interdum vindicari: [l]post, ubi, contagio quasi, pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata, imperium, ex justissumo atque optumo, crudele intolerandumque factum.

[b] *Quam.* *Magis* being understood: in some editions it is expressed.

[c] *Agitabant.* For *agebant;* the frequentative for the primitive verb.

[d] *Populi.* This word in the plural signifies tribes, &c.

[e] *Carthago.* Once a famous and flourishing city in Africa, not far from the present city of Tunis.

[f] *Optandæ.* Agrees with *divitiæ,* the noun nearest to it.

[g] *Materies.* Of the fifth declension; sometimes *materia,* of the first.

[h] *Artis.* For artes.

[i] *Neglegere.* An archaism for *negligere.* *Deos negligere,* for *negligentiam deorum.*

[k] *Ex re.* According to their real value.

[l] *Post.* By enallage for *postea.* *Contagio quasi,* by a sort of contagion, *contagio* being the ablative.

XI. SED primo magis ambitio, quam avaritia, animos hominum exercebat: quod tamen vitium propius [m]virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, [n]bonus, ignavus, aeque sibi exoptant: sed ille [o]vera via nititur; huic quia bonae artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniae [p]studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit: ea, quasi venenis malis imbuta, corpus animumque virilem effeminat: semper infinita, insatiabilis, neque copia, neque inopia, minuitur. Sed, postquam L. Sulla, armis [q]recepta republica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit; rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere; neque modum, neque modestiam, victores habere, foeda crudeliaque in civibus facinora facere. [r]Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asiam [s]ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum, luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat; loca [t]amoena, voluptaria, facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani [u]amare, potare; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa caelata mirari; ea [v]privatim ac

[m] *Virtutem*. Governed by *ad* understood.

[n] *Bonus*. Used for *fortis*, as appears by its being contrasted with *ignavus*.

[o] *Vera via*. By lawful means; *vera* being used for *legitima*.

[p] *Studium habet*. For *studium est*, or, *in se complectitur studium*.

[q] *Recepta republica*. For *recuperata*; having recovered, or delivered the state from the tyranny of Marius and Cinna; or *recepta*, may be used for *potitus*, having got possession of the government.

[r] *Huc accedebat*. To this was added.

[s] *Ductaverat*. For *duxerat*. The frequentative again used for the primitive. *In Asiam*, for *intra Asiam*: so in chap. xix. *in provinciam*, for *intra provinciam*. Some editions have *in Asia*.

[t] *Amœna*. *Jucundus* commonly refers to the mind, *amœnus* to the sight, and *voluptarius* generally denotes corporeal pleasures, particularly lust.

[u] *Amare, potare*. *Amare* is here taken in a bad sense for *scortari*. *Bibere*, to drink; *potare*, to tipple.

[v] *Privatim ac publice*. They carried them off by violence,

publice rapere; delubra spoliare; sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundae res sapientium [w]animos fatigant: [x]ne illi, corruptis moribus, victoriae temperarent.

XII. POSTQUAM divitiae honori esse coepere, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur; hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro [y]malivolentia duci coepit. Igitur, [z]ex divitiis, juventutem luxuria atque avaritia, cum superbia invasere: rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi atque moderati habere. Operae pretium est, quum domus atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exaedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri majores, religiosissumi mortales, fecere. [a]Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos [b]sua gloria decorabant; neque victis quidquam, praeter injuriae licentiam, eripiebant. At hi contra, ignavissumi homines, per summum scelus, omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissumi viri [c]victores reliquerant: proinde quasi injuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti.

whether they belonged to private persons or to the public; or rather they pilfered them privately, or carried them off publicly by the authority of their generals. *Rapere* is almost always taken in a bad sense.

w *Animos fatigant.* Corrupt, or enervate the minds.

x *Ne.* Used for *nedum*, much less, which is the reading in some editions.

y *Malivolentia.* More commonly written *malevolentia.* Not from a principle of integrity, but through spite and opposition.

z *Ex divitiis.* In consequence of riches.

a *Verum.* Refers to the sentiment naturally occurring to the mind, on observing the contrast between the simplicity of the ancient temples, and the splendid decorations of the modern; but not expressed in the text.

b *Sua.* In other editions *suas*, which enfeebles the sense.

c *Victores.* In most editions is followed by *hostibus*, which renders the thought more forcible, but wholly changes the sense.

XIII. NAM quid ea memorem, quae, nisi iis qui videre, nemini credibilia sunt: a privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria [d]constructa esse; quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae; quippe, quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per [e]turpidinem properabant. Sed lubido stupri, ganeae, ceterique [f]cultus, non minor incesserat: [g]viros pati muliebria, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vescendi caussa, terra marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius, quam somni cupido esset; non famem, aut sitim, neque frigus, neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Haec juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant. Animus imbutus malis artibus haud facile [h]lubidinibus carebat: eo profusius omnibus modis quaestui atque sumptui deditus erat.

XIV. IN tanta tamque corrupta civitate, Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium [i]flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se, tamquam stipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam, quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, manu, ventre, pene, bona patria laceraverat; quique alienum aes grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus [k]redimeret; praeterea, omnes undique parricidae, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis, aut pro factis judicium timentes; ad hoc,

[d] *Constructa.* Other editions have *constrata,* some *contracta.*

[e] *Turpidinem.* An old noun, regularly formed from *turpis,* the same with *turpitudinem,* which is the common reading.

[f] *Cultus.* Is here taken in a bad sense for refinement, or over-niceness in diet and dress.

[g] *Viros.* I should prefer *viri,* which is the reading in other editions.

[h] *Lubidinibus.* Written also *libidinibus.* This word is most frequently taken in a bad sense.

[i] *Flagitiorum atque facinorum.* A Meton. for *flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum;* which are the words found in some other editions

[k] *Redimeret.* Might buy off; i. e. might escape the punishment due to his crimes by bribery.

quos manus atque lingua, perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat; postremo, omnes quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat; ii Catilinae proxumi familiaresque erant. Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat, quotidiano usu atque illecebris facile [l]par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxume adolescentium familiaritates adpetebat: eorum animi molles et aetate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam, uti cujusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta praebere; aliis canes atque equos mercari; postremo, neque sumptui, neque modestiae suae parcere, dum illos [m]obnoxios fidosque faceret. Scio fuisse nonnullos, qui ita aestumarent, juventutem, quae domum Catilinae frequentabat, parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse; sed ex aliis rebus magis, quam quod cuiquam compertum foret, haec fama valebat.

XV. JAM primum adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat; cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote [n]Vestae, alia hujuscemodi contra [o]jus fasque. Postremo, captus amore Aureliae Orestillae, cujus, praeter formam, nihil [p]umquam bonus laudavit; quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum

[l] *Par similisque.* Equivalent to *par vel saltem similis;* but the conjunction *que* is rarely used in this sense. Why may not the meaning be, equally expert in wickedness, and similarly disposed to evil?

[m] *Obnoxios.* Some editions give *obstrictos;* others insert the pronoun *sibi* after *fidosque,* the omission of which appears to me more elegant. To avoid repetition, we remark that the pronoun, as well as the conjunction, is often elegantly omitted in Cortius's edition, though expressed in others.

[n] *Vestæ.* The priestesses of Vesta, who guarded and maintained the sacred fire, &c. were bound to inviolable chastity, and when convicted of dishonour, were burned alive in the *campus sceleratus,* and their paramours scourged to death in the forum.

[o] *Jus fasque.* Human and divine law.

[p] *Umquam.* More frequently *unquam.*

adulta aetate; pro certo creditur, necato filio, vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur caussa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis, neque quietibus sedari poterat; ita conscientia mentem excitam [p]vastabat. Igitur [q]colos exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus incessus; prorsus in [r]facie vultuque vecordia inerat.

XVI. SED juventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testes signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere; post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat: si caussa peccandi in praesens minus suppetebat, nihilo minus insontes, sicuti sontes, [s]circumvenire, jugulare: scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent [t]manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod aes alienum per omnis terras ingens erat, et quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores, civile bellum [u]exoptabant; [v]opprimundae reipublicae consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus: Cn. Pompeius in extremis [w]terris

[p] *Vastabat.* A more emphatical word than *vexabat,* which is the reading in some editions.

[q] *Colos.* Or *color, honos* or *honor, labos* or *labor,* &c.

[r] *Facie vultuque.* *Facies* applies to the features, *vultus* to the expression of the countenance.

[s] *Circumvenire, jugulare.* Are governed by *imperabat.*

[t] *Manus.* The nominative plural.

[u] *Exoptabant.* Earnestly desired: such is the force of the preposition *ex* in composition.

[v] *Opprimundæ.* An archaism for *opprimendæ.* The use of the *u* for *e* in the gerunds and futures of the participles passive will often occur.

[w] *Terris.* *Terræ* in the plural signifies both lands and the earth. By *extremis terris* are here meant *Pontus* and *Armenia.*

bellum gerebat: ipsi consulatum petundi magna spes: senatus nihil sane intentus: tutae tranquillaeque res omnes: sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

XVII. IGITUR circiter Kalendas Junias, [x]L. Cæsare et C. Figulo consulibus, primo singulos adpellare: hortari alios, alios tentare: opes suas, imparatam rempublicam, magna praemia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt, quae voluit, in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxuma [y]necessitudo, et plurimum audaciae. Eo convenere, [z]senatorii ordinis, P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Servius Sullae, Servii filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Portius Laeca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius: praeterea [z]ex

x *L. Cæsare*, &c. In the year of the city 690, and 62 years before the Christian æra.

y *Necessitudo.* Here signifies necessity; more commonly a friendly connection.

z *Senatorii ordinis.* Among the Romans there were three ranks of citizens: senators, *equites* or knights, and *plebes*, or common people. One hundred senators were originally selected out of the whole people; three by each of the thirty *curiæ*, three by each of the three tribes, and one by Romulus. These were called *patres*, either from their age, or the nature of their charge, and their descendents *patricii*. One hundred more were chosen from among the Sabines, when Tatius, their king, was admitted to share the sovereignty with Romulus. Yet, according to Livy, there were but one hundred in the whole at the death of Romulus. Tullus Hostilius increased their number after the destruction of Alba; Tarquinius Priscus added one hundred more: so that the whole number to the time of Sylla consisted of about three hundred. After the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, Brutus selected proper characters to supply the place of those who had been destroyed by Tarquin, whose names were enrolled with the remaining senators, and hence they were together called *patres conscripti*. The *equites* did not originally form a distinct order: they were three hundred young men, one hundred selected from each tribe, and distinguished for their rank, wealth and accomplishments, appointed to guard the person of Romulus, and to serve the state on horseback. They were afterwards, on account of the corruption of the senate, appointed judges; and they were also the farmers of

equestri ordine, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius: ad hoc multi ex [a]coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant praeterea complures paullo occultius consilii hujusce participes [b]nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quam inopia, aut alia necessitudo. Ceterum juventus pleraque, sed maxume nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat: quibus in otio vel magnifice, vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum, quam pacem, malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate, qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse; quia Cn. Pompeius, invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere; simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

XVIII. SED antea item conjuravere pauci contra rempublicam, in quibus Catilina; de [c]qua, quam verissume potero, dicam. L. Tullo, M. Lepido consulibus, [d]P. Autronius et P. Sulla,

the public revenue, and in that station called *publicani*. The body of the people was denominated *plebs*, or *plebes*. Besides these three orders, there was always a great number of slaves in the Roman territory.

a *Coloniis & municipiis*. The Romans, to aid in preserving the fidelity of conquered nations, sent among them colonies of their own citizens. *Municipia* were towns in conquered countries, composed originally of Roman citizens, who, for their fidelity and good conduct, *munera civium Romanorum ceperunt*, were admitted to the privileges of Roman citizens.

b *Nobiles*. This word is omitted in some editions, though it seems necessary to the sense.

c *Qua*. *Conjuratione* being understood. Other editions have *quo*, referring to the whole sentence, as an antecedent.

d *P. Autronius & P. Sulla*. After these words in other editions are inserted *designati consules*, which seem necessary to a clear understanding of the author's meaning. The consuls were chosen the latter end of July, or beginning of August, and were then denominated *designati*; though they did not enter upon their offices till the first of January.

legibus ambitus interrogati, poenas dederant. Post paullo Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summae audaciae, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rempublicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc, Catilina et [e]Autronius, consilio communicato, parabant in Capitolio, [f]Kalendis Januariis, L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules interficere; ipsi, [g]fascibus correptis, Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas [h]Hispanias mittere. Ea re cognita, rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium caedis [i]transtulerant. Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur.

e *Autronius.* After this word are inserted in some editions *circiter nonas decembr.*

f *Kalendis*, or *Calendis.* From the old verb *calo*, originating from the Greek *καλεω voco.* The first day of every month was called the Calends; because, being the first day of the moon, or the day of new moon, it was necessary for the priests, who had the charge of the Calendar, to have the first day of the month publicly proclaimed to the people. The nones were so called because there were nine days, counting inclusively, between them and the ides, which were so named from the old verb *iduare*, to divide, because they nearly divided the month. The nones of the months of March, May, July, and October, fell on the 7th, and the ides on the 15th day of the month. In the other months the nones fell on the 5th, and the ides on the 13th. The Romans counted backwards: the day before the calends, nones and ides being called *pridie Calendas, nonas, idus, ante* being understood; and the day preceding that, *tertius Kalendas*, &c. The word *Kalendæ* is the only Latin word, except proper names, in which *k* is used. The Greeks divided their months very differently from the Romans.

g *Fascibus.* The *fasces* were a bundle of rods with an axe tied in the middle of them, which were carried before the kings, and afterwards before the consuls, as an emblem of their power.

h *Hispanias.* Hither and thither Spain, called by the Romans *Citerior & Ulterior.*

i *Transtulerant.* In other editions *transtulerunt*, which seems preferable.

Quod ni Catilina maturasset [k]pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die, post conditam urbem Romanam, pessumum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit.

XIX. POSTEA Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam [l]quaestor pro praetore missus est, adnitente Crasso, quod eum infestum [m]inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat: quippe foedum hominem a republica procul [n]esse volebat: simul, quia boni quam plures praesidium in eo putabant: et jam tum potentia Cn. Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso, in provinciam, ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens, occisus est. Sunt qui ita dicunt, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia, barbaros nequivisse pati: alii autem, equites illos, Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes, voluntate ejus Pisonem [o]adgressos; numquam Hispanos [p]praeterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia saeva multa

k *Pro curia.* Before the senate house, or place where the senate met.

l *Quæstor pro prætore.* With prætorian power. The quæstors had charge of the public money, and of its disbursement, and of the share of the plunder taken by the army, which belonged to the public; for which reason one attended every army. It was the lowest office that gave admission into the senate. The prætors superintended the courts of justice; they were also sent out as governors of provinces, and of course commanded armies.

m *Inimicum.* An inveterate enemy. To some editors *inimicum* after *infestum* has appeared superfluous, and is, therefore, omitted.

n *Esse.* In some editions *abesse.*

o *Adgressos.* An archaism for *aggressos:* so *adpellare* afterwards for *appellare.* *Adgressos esse* is governed by *equites,* horsemen, who, according to Sallust, were old and faithful adherents of Pompey.

p *Præterea.* In any other instance.

antea perpessos. Nos eam rem in medio [q]relinquemus. De superiore conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. CATILINA ubi eos, quos paullo ante memoravi, convenisse videt; tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat, tamen [r]in rem fore credens universos adpellare et cohortari, in abditam partem aedium [s]secedit; atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujuscemodi habuit. "Ni virtus fidesque vestra [t]spectata mihi forent, nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, [u]dominatio, in manibus frustra fuissent: neque [v]ego, per ignaviam, aut vana ingenia, incerta pro certis captarem. Sed, quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortes fidosque mihi, eo animus [w]ausus maxumum atque pulcherrumum facinus [x]incipere: simul, quia vobis, eadem [y]mihi, bona malaque intellexi; nam idem velle [z]atque nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed ego quae mente agitavi, omnes jam antea diversi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cum considero, quae conditio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam, postquam respublica in paucorum jus

q *Relinquemus.* Some editions have *relinquimus.* *In medio relinquere,* to leave undetermined.

r *In rem.* For his interest, advantage, or purpose.

s *Secedit.* In other editions *secessit,* which is certainly preferable, because *habuit* is connected to it by *atque;* unless *secedit* be considered as the old præterperfect tense of the verb.

t *Spectata.* In some editions we find *satis spectata.*

u *Dominatio.* In some editions *dominationis*——*fuisset.*

v *Ego.* Both in this and the next sentence is used emphatically, and therefore elegantly expressed.

w *Ausus.* In most editions *sum* is expressed after *ausus,* whereas in that of Cortius, *sum, est* and *esse* are constantly and elegantly understood.

x *Incipere* Used for *suscipere.*

y *Eadem mihi.* In most editions *eadem quæ mihi,* which pleases me better.

z *Atque.* In some editions the words are *atque idem.* The last *idem* appears superfluous.

atque ditionem concessit, semper illis reges, [a]tetrarchae vectigales esse; [b]populi, nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus, sine gratia, sine auctoritate, his obnoxii, quibus, si respublica [c]valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiae apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt: repulsas nobis reliquere, pericula, judicia, egestatem. Quae quousque tandem patiemini, fortissumi viri? Nonne [d]emori per virtutem praestat, quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Verum enim vero, pro deûm atque hominum fidem! victoria nobis in manu: viget aetas, animus valet: contra illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt. Tantum modo incepto opus est: [e]cetera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium cui virile ingenium, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas profundant in extruendo mari et montibus coaequandis; nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas, aut [f]amplius, domos continuare; nobis [g]larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse?

[a] *Tetrarchæ.* A tetrarch was governor of the fourth part of a province.

[b] *Populi, nationes.* *Natio* denotes the whole people, *gens* a family, and *populi* tribes, several of which go to compose a nation.

[c] *Valeret.* Were vigorous.

[d] *Emori.* To die outright. N.B. Less important variations, especially in the order of the words, are generally unnoticed.

[e] *Cetera res expediet.* A phrase which will hardly admit of a literal translation: the meaning is, the rest will follow of course.

[f] *Aut amplius.* *Amplius* is precisely the word applicable to the verb *continuare.* *Aut plures* would have been less elegant. *Continuare binas domos,* &c. They erect two houses together, or contiguous, or even continue their building farther.

[g] *Larem.* *Lar* properly signifies a family god; sometimes by Meton. a house or hearth.

Cum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt; [h]nova diruunt, alia aedificant; postremo omnibus modis pecuniam [i]trahunt, vexant: tamen [k]summa lubidine divitias vincere nequeunt. At nobis domi inopia, foris aes alienum; mala res, spes multo asperior: denique, quid reliqui habemus, praeter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa quam saepe optastis, libertas, praeterea divitiae, decus, gloria, in oculis sita sunt! fortuna omnia victoribus praemia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica magis, quam oratio, hortentur. Vel imperatore, vel milite me utimini: neque animus, neque corpus a vobis aberit. Haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum consul agam; nisi forte animus fallit, et vos servire, quam imperare, parati estis."

XXI. POSTQUAM accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque [l]res, neque spes bona ulla; tamen etsi illis quieta movere, magna merces videbatur, tamen postulare plerique, uti proponeret, quae conditio belli foret; quae praemia armis peterent; quid [m]ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri [n]tabulas novas, [o]proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdo-

h *Nova. Aedificia* must be understood.

i *Trahunt, vexant* They scrape together, they squander. Some suppose *trahunt* to be used for *distrahunt,* they dissipate.

k *Summa,* &c. They cannot exhaust their riches by the greatest extravagance. N. B. In Cortius's edition, the pronouns not emphatical, nor absolutely necessary to the sense, are constantly and elegantly omitted.

l *Res* Property.

m *Quid ubique.* Sallust both here and elsewhere uses *ubique* for *et ubi.*

n *Tabulas novas.* An abolition or remission of debts. The Romans kept their accounts on tables covered with wax, and when the debts were discharged, the former marks were smoothed over with the flat side of the stilus, and the tables were ready for a new score.

o *Proscriptionem.* Proscription, a pernicious practice intro-

tia, rapinas, alia omnia quae bellum atque lubido victorum fert. Praeterea esse in Hispania [p]citeriore Pisonem, in Mauritania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes: petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem, et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum: [q]eo consulem initium agendi facturum. Ad hoc, maledictis [r]increpat omnis bonos: suorum unumquemque nominans laudare: [s]admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suae, complures periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt; cohortatus, ut petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit.

XXII. FUERE ea tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habita, cum ad jusjurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem, vino permixtum, in pateris circumtulisse; inde, cum post exsecrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, atque eo, dictitare, fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent, [t]alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta haec, multa praeterea, existumabant, ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam,

duced during the civil wars. The victorious party set up tablets in public places, containing the names of their enemies, and offering a reward to the person who should assassinate them: the goods of the proscribed were also confiscated and sold.

p *Citeriore.* Hither Spain, i. e. the division of the country next to Italy.

q *Eo.* *Cum* being understood; in some editions it is expressed, as is commonly the case, when accompanyment is signified.

r *Increpat.* Some editions have *increpabat.*

s *Admonebat.* In some other editions *admonere.*

t *Alius——conscii.* A partitive pronoun singular joined to a plural adjective.

quae postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

XXIII. SED in ea [u]conventione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, [v]flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus; quem censores senatu, probri gratia, [w]amoverant. Huic homini non minor [x]vanitas, quam audacia: neque reticere, quae audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare: prorsus neque dicere, neque facere, quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo: cui cum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montesque polliceri coepit; minari interdum ferro, nisi obnoxia foret; postremo ferocius agitare, quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiae Curii caussa cognita, tale periculum reipublicae haud occultum habuit; sed, [y]sublato auctore, de Catilinae conjuratione quae quoque modo audierat, compluribus narravit. Ea res imprimis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea [z]pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat,

[u] *Conventione.* In some editions *conjuratione.* The former seems the proper term in this place.

[v] *Flagitiis*, &c. *Facinus* implies any action, good or bad; *scelus*, a wicked action, and *flagitium*, an action both wicked and disgraceful; scandalous, flagitious.

[w] *Amoverant.* In some editions *moverant.* The former seems preferable. The censors were officers of the highest dignity in the state, and their station was reckoned more honourable than that of the consuls. They took a survey of the people and their property every fifth year, and punished by disgrace or degradation of rank; their office being instituted for preserving the morals of the people, as well as for the apportionment of taxes.

[x] *Vanitas. Inerat* understood; in some editions it is expressed.

[y] *Sublato auctore.* Having concealed the name of her informant.

[z] *Pleraque.* Observe here that *pleraque* is in the nominative singular.

et quasi pollui consulatum [a]credebant, si eum, quamvis egregius, homo [b]novus adeptus foret. Sed, ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia postfuere.

XXIV. IGITUR, comitiis habitis, consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius; quod factum primo popularis conjurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinae furor minuebatur: sed in dies plura agitare; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare; pecuniam, sua aut amicorum fide, sumtam mutuam, [c]Faesulas ad Manlium quemdam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse dicitur; mulieres etiam aliquot, quae primo ingentis sumtus stupro corporis toleraverant; post, [d]ubi aetas tantummodo quaestui, neque luxuriae, modum fecerat, aes alienum grande conflaverant: per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi, vel interficere.

XXV. SED in his erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe virilis audaciae facinora commiserat. Haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro, liberis satis fortunata: litteris Graecis atque Latinis docta: psallere, saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probae: [e]multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae. Sed ei cariora semper omnia, quam decus atque pudicitia fuit: pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud

[a] *Credebant.* Rather *credebat*, as connected to *æstuabat:* though *nobilitas* might otherwise admit a plural verb.

[b] *Novus* A new man, a person who rose by his own merit, none of whose ancestors had held a curule office.

[c] *Fæsulas.* Fæsulæ, a town of Tuscany, towards the Apennine mountains.

[d] *Ubi.* This word is more frequently used for *cum* by this author, than by any other.

[e] *Multa alia.* These words are governed by *docta.*

facile [f]decerneres: lubido sic accensa, ut saepius peteret viros, quam peteretur. Sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia praeceps abierat. Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum: posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel [g]modesto, vel molli, vel procaci: prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

XXVI. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilo minus in proxumum annum consulatum petebat; sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus, aut astutiæ deerant. Namque, a principio consulatus sui, multa pollicendo per Fulviam, effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paullo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet. Ad hoc, collegam suum Antonium pactione [h]provinciae [i]perpulerat, [k]ne contra rempublicam sentiret; circum se praesidia amicorum atque [l]clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies [m]comi-

f *Decerneres.* Other editions have *discerneres.* Either is admissible.

g *Modesto, &c.* Language modest, amorous, or wanton.

h *Provinciæ.* The province of Macedonia, which had fallen to the lot of Cicero, he yielded to Anthony.

i *Perpulerat.* Had gained over, conciliated, or prevailed upon.

k *Ne contra,* &c. That he should not cherish sentiments contrary to the interest of the state.

l *Clientium.* Romulus ordained that every plebeian should choose from the patricians some individual for his patron and protector, whose client he was called. It was the patron's duty to advise, defend, and assist his client with his interest and substance. The client was bound to respect his patron, and to serve him with his life and fortune.

m *Comitiorum.* Of election. *Comitium,* in the singular denoted the place, or part of the forum, where the people assembled; in the plural it signified an assembly of the whole people for the election of magistrates: hence, in the present

tiorum venit, et Catilinae neque petitio, neque insidiae quas [n]consulibus in campo fecerat, prospere cessere; constituit bellum facere, et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quae occulte tentaverat, aspera foedaque evenerant.

XXVII. IGITUR C. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quemdam, [o]Camertem, in agrum [p]Picenum, C. Julium in [q]Apuliam dimisit; praeterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum credebat. Interea Romae multa simul moliri: consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere: ipse [r]cum telo esse, item alios jubere: hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent: dies noctesque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo, ubi multa agitanti nihil procedit, rursus [s]intempesta nocte conjurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Laecam: ibique, multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet, " se Manlium prae-

case it may be translated election. *Concilium* signified an assembly of only a part of the people.

[n] *Consulibus in campo.* Some editions have *consuli,* referring to Cicero, without *campo.* The *campus martius* was a spacious plain along the Tiber, where the Roman youth performed their exercises, and where the *comitia centuriata* were held for choosing the greater magistrates, consuls, prætors, and censors, and for passing the laws proposed by them. This plain was originally the property of the Tarquins, and was after their expulsion consecrated to Mars.

[o] *Camertem.* A Camertian, from a city in Umbria, called Camerinum, Camerta, or Camers, now Camerino, within the territories of the pope.

[p] *Agrum Picenum.* The march of Ancona comprehends the greater part of Picenum. *Ager* was used to denote a small district, which took its name from the chief town in it.

[q] *Apuliam.* A part of Italy lying along the Adriatic, between Daunia and Calabria, now called La Puglia.

[r] *Cum telo esse.* He carried a weapon about him: a phrase taken from the twelve tables.

[s] *Intempesta nocte.* In the dead of night, far on in the night, when the night was far advanced.

misisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat; item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent; seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset: eum suis consiliis multum [t]obficere."

XXVIII. IGITUR, perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, C. Cornelius, eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius, senator, constituere ea nocte paullo [u]post, cum armatis hominibus, sicuti salutatum, introire ad Ciceronem, ac de improviso domi suae imparatum confodere. Curius, ubi [v]intellegit quantum periculi consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam, dolum qui parabatur, enunciat. Ita illi, janua prohibiti, tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul, ac dolore injuriae, novarum rerum cupidam, quod, Sullae dominatione, agros bonaque omnia amiserat; praeterea latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat; nonnullos ex [w]Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

XXIX. EA cum Ciceroni nunciarentur, [x]ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus, aut quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, [y]rem ad senatum refert, jam

[t] *Obficere.* An archaism for *officere.*

[u] *Post.* A preposition used adverbially by enallage.

[v] *Intellegit.* An archaism for *intelligit:* thus in the next chapter, *volgi* for *vulgi.*

[w] *Sullanis colonis.* The soldiers of Sylla settled as colonists on the lands of the Tuscans, who had embraced the party of Marius.

[x] *Ancipiti malo.* By the double danger, both within and without the city.

[y] *Rem ad senatum refert.* Lays the matter before the senate, proposes it to the senate. *Referre senatui,* to relate to the senate.

antea volgi rumoribus exagitatam. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, DARENT OPERAM CONSULES, NE QUID RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET. [z]Ea potestas per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxuma permittitur; exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coërcere omnibus modis socios atque civis; domi militiaeque imperium atque judicium summum habere: aliter, sine populi jussu, nulli earum rerum consuli jus est.

XXX. POST paucos dies L. Saenius, senator, in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Faesulis adlatas sibi dicebat; in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse, cum magna multitudine, [a]ante diem vi. Kalendas Novembris. Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nunciabant; alii conventus fieri, arma portari, [b]Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. Igitur [c]senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Faesulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam [d]circumque loca missi: ii utrique [e]ad urbem imperatores erant; impediti, ne triumpharent, calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia [f]honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Sed praetores, Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum; iisque permissum, "uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent." Ad hoc, "si quis indicavisset de conjura-

[z] *Eâ.* This word is in the ablative: and the sentence may be supplied thus: *Ea formula decreti, potestas,* &c.

[a] *Ante diem sextum kalendas.* For *diem sextum ante kalendas.*

[b] *Capuæ.* At Capua, a noble city of Campania, on the Tuscan sea.

[c] *Senati.* All nouns of the fourth declension had formerly their genitives in *i.*

[d] *Circumque. Circum* is here taken for *circumjacentia.*

[e] *Ad urbem.* At or near the city Generals who expected a triumph were not allowed to enter the city before their triumph.

[f] *Honesta. Honestus* rarely signifies honest in good authors; generally, virtuous, honourable.

tione, quae contra rempublicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et sestertia centum; libero impunitatem ejus rei, et [g]sestertia ducenta:" item [decrevere] "uti [h]gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur, pro cujusque opibus; Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur, iisque [h]minores magistratus praeessent."

XXXI. QUIBUS rebus permota civitas, atque immutata urbis facies: ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit: festinare, trepidare; neque loco, nec homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere; suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc, mulieres, quibus, [i]reipublicae magnitudine, belli timor insolitus, [k]adflictare sese, manus supplices ad coelum tendere; miserari parvos liberos; rogitare, omnia pavere; superbia atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriaeque diffidere. At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa mo-

g *Sestertia centum.* The common computation of money among the Romans was by *sestertii* and *nummi.* The *sestertius, sesterce,* was a silver coin worth two asses and a half, marked by the letters L. L. S. for *libra, libra, semis,* two pounds and a half of brass; sometimes abbreviated by contracting L L into H, thus, H. S. The *sestertius* was worth one penny $3\frac{3}{4}$ farthings sterling. *Sestertium* is one thousand *sestertii:* therefore, *decem sestertii* is just ten *sesterces,* whereas, *decem sestertia* means ten thousand *sesterces.* When a numeral adverb is joined to *sestertium,* it expresses so many hundred thousand: thus, *decies sestertium* make ten hundred thousand *sesterces.*

h *Gladiatoriæ familiæ.* Gladiators were kept and maintained in schools by persons called *Lanistæ,* who purchased and trained them. The whole number under one *Lanista* was called *familia.* The lesser magistrates were the *Quæstors, Ædiles, Tribunes,* and *Triumvirs.*

i *Reipublicæ magnitudine.* Some editions have *pro reipublicæ magnitudine timor insolitus incesserat.* Cortius's text is preferable.

k *Adflictare.* An archaism for *afflictare,* which is the frequentative used for the primitive *affligere.*

vebat, tamen etsi praesidia parabantur, et ipse [m]lege Plautia interrogatus ab L. Paullo. Postremo, dissimulandi caussa, [n]atque sui expurgandi, sicuti jurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive praesentiam ejus timens, seu ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicae; quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed, ubi ille [o]adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso voltu, voce supplici postulare, "Patres conscripti ne quid de se temere crederent: ea familia ortum, ita ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet: ne [p]aestumarent, sibi patricio homini, cujus ipsius, atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita republica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius, [q]inquilinus civis urbis Romae." Ad hoc maledicta alia cum adderet; obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus: "Quoniam quidem circumventus," inquit, "ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam."

XXXII. DEIN se ex curia domum proripuit: ibi multa secum ipse volvens; quod neque [r]insidiae consuli procedebant, et ab incendio intellegebat ur-

[l] *Tamenetsi.* Afterwards contracted into *tametsi.*

[m] *Lege Plautia.* A law proposed by Plautius, tribune of the people, for the punishment of those who should plot against the senate, magistrates or private men, or should offer violence to them.

[n] *Atque sui.* Some editions have *et quasi sui* &c.

[o] *Adsedit.* An archaism for *assedit.*

[p] *Æstumarent.* For *æstimarent.* Other editions have *existimarent.*

[q] *Inquilinus.* From *incolinus*, a derivative of *incola*, a tenant, or rather a citizen, whose right of citizenship was derived from his habitation, not from his birth. Cicero was born at *Arpinum.*

[r] *Insidiæ consuli. Factæ* being understood. It is, however, nothing extraordinary to see a dative governed by a substantive noun.

bem vigiliis munitam, [s]optumum factum credens, exercitum augere, ac prius, quam legiones scriberentur, antecapere quae bello usui forent; nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo, [t]ceterisque quorum cognoverat promtam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent, opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent, caedem, incendia, aliaque belli facinora parent: sese [u]prope diem cum magno exercitu [v]ad urbem accessurum. Dum haec Romae geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero ad Marcium Regem mittit, cum mandatis hujuscemodi:

XXXIII. "DEOS hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum [w]homini faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent; qui miseri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate foeneratorum, plerique patriae, sed omnes fama atque fortunis, expertes sumus: neque cuiquam nostrum licuit, more majorum, [x]lege uti, neque, amisso patrimonio, [y]libe-

s *Optumum factum.* Some editions have *factu*, which at first sight seems the preferable reading. *Factum* is, however, defensible, and the sentence will then run thus: *Credens augere exercitum esse optimum factum*, believing the increase of his army to be his best measure; or that to increase, &c.

t *Ceterisque.* In Cortius's edition this word is always written with an *e*, and not *æ* in the first syllable.

u *Prope diem.* These words are sometimes united, sometimes separate, and signify the same thing with *brevi*, *statim*.

v *Ad urbem accessurum.* *Accedo*, followed by *ad*, signifies, I go or come to; with a dative, I assent or agree to, or with; but in the third person singular, with the dative, it signifies, it is added to.

w *Homini.* *Cuivis* being understood. Some editions exhibit *aliis* instead of *homini*: *homini* appears more elegant.

x *Lege.* The Papirian law, enacted to prevent the cruelty of creditors against their debtors.

y *Liberum corpus.* To have their persons at liberty, not bound with chains, nor confined to a prison; practices, which, if we are to credit the remonstrance of Manlius, were not wholly disused, though illegal.

rum corpus habere; tanta saevitia foeneratorum atque praetoris fuit. Saepe majores vestrum, miseriti plebis Romanae, decretis suis inopiae opitulati sunt: ac novissume, memoria nostra, propter magnitudinem aeris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, [z]argentum aere solutum est. Saepe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbia magistratuum, armata a patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum caussa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalis sunt; sed libertatem, quam nemo [a]bonus, nisi cum anima simul, amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, [b]consulatis miseris civibus; legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis; neve eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut quaeramus, quonam modo ulti maxume sanguinem nostrum pereamus."

XXXIV. AD haec Q. [c]Marcius: "Si quid ab senatu petere vellent, [d]ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur: ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populumque Romanum semper

[z] *Argentum ære solutum.* Some have supposed that *ære* here is put for *ex ærario*, and have understood the meaning to be that the debts of individuals were paid out of the public treasury. This conjecture is not only unsupported by proof, but is in itself absurd. The more probable meaning is, that creditors were obliged by law to compound with their debtors; and to receive an *as*, which was of brass, for a *sesterce*, which was of silver. A law of this kind, passed under the consulship of Valerius Flaccus, authorized debtors to discharge their debts by the payment of one-fourth of their value. If, as some assert, there were silver *sesterces* coined of the value of five *asses*, and if an *as* was paid instead of a *sesterce*, the creditor received but one-fifth of his debt. Reckoning two and a half *asses* to a *sesterce*, the creditor in this way received two-fifths of his debt.

[a] *Bonus. Nemo bonus*, no man of spirit, *bonus* being here used for *fortis*.

[b] *Consulatis. Ut* is understood after *licet, oportet, necesse est, dico, volo, facio, sino, caveo*, and verbs of asking and commanding

[c] *Marcius. Respondit* is elegantly understood.

[d] *Ab armis discedant.* Should lay down their arms.

fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit." At Catilina ex itinere plerisque [e]consularibus, praeterea [f]optumo cuique, litteras mittit: "se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, [g]Massiliam in exilium proficisci; non [h]quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius; sed uti respublica quieta foret, neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur." Ab his longe diversas [litteras] Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinae redditas dicebat: earum exemplum infra scriptum.

XXXV. "L. CATILINA Q. Catulo [i]S. Egregia tua fides, re cognita, gratam in magnis periculis fiduciam commendationi meae tribuit. Quamobrem defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare; satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, [k]quam, [l]me dius fidius, veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod, fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus, [m]statum

[e] *Consularibus.* Men of consular dignity; i. e. who had held the consulship.

[f] *Optumo cuique.* I take these words in their connection to mean all the most influential men.

[g] *Massiliam.* A famous city of Gallia Narbonensis, now called Marseilles, founded by a colony of Phocians according to Justin.

[h] *Quo.* In the ablative case, and by virtue of the signification which that case bears, may be taken for *quia* or *quod.* It is so used by Cicero, book vi. epist. 3.

[i] *S.* A contraction for *salutem dicit,* the complimentary salutation among the Romans; equivalent to—presents his respects.

[k] *Quam——veram.* Referring to *conscientia.* Some editions have *quæ——vera.*

[l] *Me dius fidius.* A corruption of speech for *ma dios filium;* the ancients having often changed *l* into *d:* or it is an elliptical expression for *me dios filius juvet.* In both cases it is a species of oath by Hercules the son of Jupiter. The Roman men swore by Hercules, the women by Castor, and both by Pollux.

[m] *Statum dignitatis, &c.* I did not obtain a rank or station

dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum causeam pro mea consuetudine suscepi: non quin aes alienum meis [n]nominibus ex possessionibus solvere possem, cum alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillae, suis filiaeque copiis, persolveret: sed quod non dignos homines [o]honore honestatos videbam, meque [p]falsa suspicione alienatum sentiebam. Hoc nomine satis honestas, [q]pro meo casu, spes reliquae dignitatis conservandae sum secutus. Plura cum scribere vellem, nunciatum est, vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo, tuaeque fidei trado: eam ab injuria defendas, per liberos tuos [r]rogatus. [s]Haveto."

XXXVI. SED ipse, paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium Flammam in agro [t]Arretino, dum vicinitatem, antea sollicitatam, armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Haec ubi Romae comperta; senatus "Catilinam et Manlium hostes judicat; ceterae multitudini diem statuit, ante quam

suitable to my dignity. He had been prætor, and conceived himself entitled to the consulship.

n *Meis nominibus——alienis nominibus.* Contracted in my own name, and under my own signature, or in the name of others; i. e. debts contracted by others on my account, or for which others have become securities. Otherwise: debts contracted for my own behoof, or for the benefit of others. The former meaning accords best with the account before given in the history.

o *Honore honestatos.* Raised to honour, graced with honours.

p *Falsa suspicione alienatum.* Alienated, rejected, disgraced, or rather treated as a stranger, in consequence of unjust suspicion.

q *Pro meo casu.* Considering my circumstances.

r *Rogatus.* The past participle, elegantly used for the present of the indicative, *rogo te.*

s *Haveto.* An archaism for *aveto.*

t *Arretino. Aretium,* now Arezzo, was a city of Tuscany. Some editions have *Reatino.* Reate, now Rieti, was a town of Umbria, belonging to the Sabines.

[u]sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere, [v]praeter rerum capitalium condemnatis." Praeterea decernit, "uti consules [w]dilectum habeant; Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet; Cicero urbi praesidio sit." Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxume miserabile visum: cui cum, ad occasum ab ortu solis, omnia domita armis [x]paterent, domi otium atque divitiae, quae [y]prima mortales putant, adfluerent; fuere tamen cives, qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Namque, duobis senati decretis, ex tanta multitudine, neque praemio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat: tanta vis morbi, uti tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.

XXXVII. NEQUE solum illis aliena mens erat, qui conscii conjurationis; sed omnino cuncta plebes, novarum rerum studio, Catilinae incepta probabat. Id [z]adeo more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, quîs opes nullae sunt, [a]bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student;

u *Sine fraude.* With impunity, without danger: though sometimes it signifies without fraud, sincerely.

v *Præter.* A preposition here used adverbially for *prœterquam.*

w *Dilectum.* An archaism for *delectum.* To hold a levy, i. e. to select from the assembled youth proper persons within the military age to serve as soldiers.

x *Paterent.* Some editions have *parerent,* which may perhaps appear preferable.

y *Prima.* The most important.

z *Adeo.* Indeed.

a *Bonis invident. Bonis,* from its reference to *opes,* evidently signifies in this place, the wealthy, the better sort, as they are sometimes called. Thus we attach the same idea frequently in our language to good company. Among mercantile people in our day, a good man signifies, a man of property, one who may be safely trusted. *Malos* will of course in this place signify the poor, the lower class.

turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea vero praeceps ierat multis de caussis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxume praestabant; item alii [b]per dedecora patrimoniis amissis; postremo omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat; ii Romam, sicuti in sentinam, confluxerant. Deinde, multi memores Sullanae victoriae, quod, ex [c]gregariis militibus, alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites, uti [d]regio victu atque cultu aetatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis forent, ex victoria talia sperabant. Praeterea, juventus, quae in agris, manuum mercede, inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerant. Eos atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum, homines egentis, malis moribus, maxuma spe, [e]reipublicae juxta ac sibi consuluisse. Praeterea, quorum, victoria Sullae, parentes proscripti, bona erepta, [f]jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum exspectabant. Ad hoc, quicumque aliarum [g]atque senati partium erant, conturbari rempublicam,

[b] *Per dedecora. Turpiter, flagitiose:* basely, disgracefully. Sallust, in imitation of the Greeks, frequently uses substantives governed by prepositions in lieu of adverbs, or rather to express the meaning of adverbs.

[c] *Gregariis,* &c. Common soldiers.

[d] *Regio victu,* &c. Lived like princes: kept tables, and supported an equipage equal to those of kings.

[e] *Reipublicæ juxta. Juxta* is here taken adverbially. They showed no more regard to the public interest than to their own. *Consulo te,* I consult you, I ask your advice; *consulo tibi,* I provide for you, I give you advice.

[f] *Jus libertatis imminutum.* Had been deprived of the privileges of freemen: for Sylla had declared the children of the proscribed incapable of standing candidates for public offices.

[g] *Atque. Atque* and *ac* after *alius, secus, aliter, alter,* are used for *quam;* after *juxta, æque,* they serve for *ut,* as.

quam minus valere ipsi, malebant. Id [h]adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem reverterat.

XXXVIII. NAM, postquam, Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus, [i]tribunicia potestas restituta, homines adolescentes, [summam potestatem nacti] quibus aetas animusque ferox, coepere, senatum criminando, plebem exagitare; dein, largiundo atque pollicitando, magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope nitebatur [k]pleraque nobilitas, [l]senati specie, pro sua magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis [m]absolvam, per illa tempora quicumque rempublicam agitavere, honestis [n]nominibus, alii, sicuti populi jura defenderent, pars, quo senati auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque potentia certabant: neque modestia, neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

XXXIX. SED, postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum [o]maritimum atque [p]Mithridaticum missus; plebis opes imminutae, paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere: ipsi [q]innoxii, florentes, sine metu aetatem agere; ceteros [r]judiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu

h *Adeo malum.* That so great evil.

i *Tribunicia potestas.* See JUGURTHA, note on *tribunus*, chap. 27.

k *Pleraque.* Seldom used in the singular number by any other author.

l *Senati specie.* Under the pretence of supporting the dignity and interest of the senate.

m *Absolvam.* In some editions we find *verum absolvam.*

n *Nominibus.* Pretexts.

o *Maritimum.* The maritime war against the Cilicians, supported by Mithridates, called also the piratical war.

p *Mithridaticum.* The war with Mithridates, king of Pontus.

q *Innoxii.* Taken passively; unhurt; though the word is frequently used actively, and signifies innocent.

r *Judiciis.* By menacing them with trials or prosecutions.

[s]placidius tractarent. Sed, ubi primum [t]dubiis rebus novandis spes oblata, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quod si primo praelio Catilina superior, aut aequa manu discessisset; profecto magna clades atque calamitas rempublicam oppressisset, neque illis, qui victoriam adepti, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus, qui plus posset, imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. Fuere tamen [u]extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt: in his A. Fulvius, senatoris filius; quem, retractum ex itinere, [v]parens necari jussit. Isdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina praeceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se, aut per alios sollicitabat; neque solum cives, sed cujusquemodi genus hominum, quod modo [bello] usui foret.

XL. IGITUR P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos [w]Allobrogum requirat, eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli; existumans, publice privatimque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea, quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus, plerisque principibus notus erat, atque eos noverat: itaque sine mora, ubi primum

s *Placidius.* More quietly, more peaceably, with less trouble. *Placidius tractarent* may be referred either to the nobility, or to the tribunes: if to the latter, the meaning will be, that the tribunes might be less violent in their office, or less disposed to stir up commotions among the people, through dread of prosecution by the nobility, after the expiration of their tribuneship.

t *Dubiis rebus novandis.* For making an alteration in their perilous condition.

u *Extra conjurationem.* Not engaged in the conspiracy.

v *Parens.* Fathers among the Romans had the power of inflicting capital punishment on their children.

w *Allobrogum.* The Allobroges were a people of Savoy, Dauphine, and La Bresse.

legatos in foro conspexit, percunctatus pauca de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum, requirere coepit, "quem exitum tantis malis sperarent?" Postquam illos videt "queri de avaritia magistratuum, accusare senatum, quod in eo auxilii nihil esset; miseriis suis remedium mortem exspectare:" "at ego," inquit, "vobis, si modo viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiatis." Haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maxumam spem adducti, Umbrenum orare, uti sui misereretur: nihil tam asperum, neque tam difficile, [x]quin cupidissume facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit; quod foro propinqua, neque aliena consilii, propter Semproniam: nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Praeterea Gabinium arcessit, quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset: eo praesente conjurationem aperit; nominat socios, praeterea multos cujusque generis [y]innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset: dein eos pollicitos operam suam dimittit.

XLI. SED Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriae: at in altera majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe, certa praemia. Haec illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna reipublicae. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cujus [z]patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam [consilio] cognito, legatis praecepit, [a]studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, cete-

x *Quin.* More elegant than *quod non*, which is the reading in some editions.

y *Innoxios.* Innocent men, persons not concerned in the conspiracy.

z *Patrocinio.* Individual noblemen, or particular families of patrician rank were sometimes patrons of whole states.

a *Studium.* An attachment to, an earnest desire for the success of.

eos adeant, [b]bene polliceantur; dentque operam, uti eos quam maxume manifestos habeant.

XLII. ISDEM fere temporibus in [c]Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, [d]Bruttio, Apulia, motus erat. Namque illi, quos antea Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam [cuncta simul] agere: nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero complures Q. Metellus Celer praetor, ex senati consultu, caussa cognita, in vincula conjecerat; item in [e]ulteriore Gallia C. Murena, qui ei provinciae legatus praeerat.

XLIII. AT Romae Lentulus, cum ceteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, ut [f]videbantur, magnis copiis, [g]constituerant, uti, Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis, concione habita, quereretur de [i]actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissumi [k]invidiam optumo consuli imponeret; eo signo, proxuma nocte cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequerentur. Sed ea [l]divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem, ceterosque,

[b] *Bene polliceantur.* Should promise fair, should make good promises.

[c] *Gallia citeriore.* Hither Gaul, the province nearest to Rome.

[d] *Bruttio. Bruttium,* Calabria inferior.

[e] *Ulteriore Gallia.* Further Gaul, the province farthest from Rome. In other editions *citeriore.*

[f] *Videbuntur. Copiæ* being the nominative. In some editions we read *videbatur,* taken impersonally.

[g] *Constituerant. Lentulus cum ceteris* being the nominative. In some editions *constituerat,* agreeing with *Lentulus,* which I should prefer. The other construction appears harsh.

[i] *Actionibus.* The proceedings.

[k] *Invidiam.* The odium, the blame.

[l] *Divisa.* Distributed, allotted.

quibus insidiae parabantur, fieret: Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret, eum vi adgrederetur, alius autem alium: sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars, parentes interficerent; simul, caede et incendio perculsis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter haec parata atque decreta, Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et [m]dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse; seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus, maxumum bonum in celeritate putabat.

XLIV. SED Allobroges, ex praecepto Ciceronis, per Gabinium ceteros [n]conveniunt; ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio, postulant jusjurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant: aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant: Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paullo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus [cum his] T. Volturcium quemdam, [o]Crotoniensem, mittit, uti Allobroges prius, quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina, data et accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum: " Quis sim, ex eo quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum; consideres, quid tuae [p]ratio-

m *Dies prolatando.* By delaying, putting off the time.

n *Conveniunt.* This verb, governing the accusative, signifies to meet with, to assemble, &c. with the dative, it is generally used in the third person, and signifies, it agrees with, suits, befits, is convenient, is meet.

o *Crotoniensem.* Croton, or Crotona, was the name of two cities in Italia; one in Umbria, the other at the extremity of Calabria, and now called Crottone.

p *Rationes.* Your circumstances.

nes [q]postulent; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis." Ad hoc, mandata verbis dat: "cum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata esse, quae jusserit: ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere."

XLV. HIS rebus ita actis, constituta nocte, qua proficiscerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomtino, praetoribus, imperat, uti in ponte [r]Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum [s]comitatus deprehendant: rem omnem aperit, cujus gratia mittebantur: [t]cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, [u]permittit. Homines militares, sine tumultu praesidiis collocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venere, et simul utrimque clamor exortus est; Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine mora praetoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primo, cohortatus ceteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit; dein, ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomtinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus, ac vitae diffidens, veluti hostibus, sese praetoribus dedit.

XLVI. QUIBUS rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuncios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul occupavere. Nam [v]laetabatur, conjuratione patefacta, civitatem periculis ereptam esse: porro autem anxius erat, in maxumo

q *Postulent.* Governed by *quid,* and more elegant than *postulant,* which is the reading in some editions.

r *Mulvio.* Now called Pontemolle, about two miles from Rome.

s *Comitatus.* The retinue.

t *Cetera,* &c. He directs them to take such other measures as appeared necessary.

u *Permittit.* This verb is omitted in some editions; and it seems more elegantly understood.

v *Lætabatur.* In some editions *intelligens* is inserted after *lætabatur,* which appears superfluous.

scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus; poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem [w]perdundae reipublicae [x]credebat. Igitur, confirmato animo, vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, item Q. Coeparium quemdam, [y]Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt: Coeparius, paullo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio, [ex urbe] profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod praetor erat, ipse manu tenens [z]perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire jubet. Eo senatum advocat, [a]magnaque frequentia ejus ordinis, Volturcium cum legatis introducit: Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet.

XLVII. VOLTURCIUS interrogatus "de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid, aut qua de caussa consilii habuisset?" primo fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; post, ubi [b]fide publica dicere jussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit: "paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Coepario socium adscitum, nihil amplius scire, quam legatos: tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Servium Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea con-

w x *Perdundæ reipublicæ. Causæ,* or *causam* may be understood. In some editions we find *fore,* and *credebat* is omitted; but neither *fore* nor *credebat* seems absolutely necessary: they will be readily supplied by the intelligent reader. *Perdundæ reipublicæ,* if the dative, may be governed by *fore,* whether expressed or understood, if the genitive, must be governed by *causæ,* or *causam* understood.

y *Terracinensem.* Terracina, still so called, was a maritime city of the Volsci, on the frontiers of Naples, formerly called *Anxur.*

z *Perducit.* Before this word, in some editions, we read, *in senatum,* which may be thought tautological; since the idea is fully expressed afterwards by the words *in ædem concordiæ.*

a *Magnaque frequentia,* &c. In a very full house, in a very full senate.

b *Fide publica.* On the public faith; on a promise of impunity from government.

juratione esse." Eadem Galli fatentur; ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt, praeter litteras, sermonibus, quos habere solitus: "ex libris [c]Sibyllinis, regnum Romae tribus [d]Corneliis portendi: Cinnam atque Sullam antea; se tertium, cui fatum foret urbis [e]potiri: praeterea ab [f]incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis [g]haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore." Igitur, perlectis litteris, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, "uti [h]abdicatus ma-

c *Sibyllinis.* A certain woman, named Amalthæa, from a foreign country, offered for sale to Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of Rome, nine books of the Sibylline, or prophetic oracles, but at an exorbitant price; which Tarquin refusing, she burnt three of them, still demanding the same price for the remaining six. Being ridiculed by the king, she burnt three more, without abating her price for the remaining three. Tarquin, surprized at her strange conduct, consulted the augurs, who, regretting the loss of the books which had been burnt, advised the king to pay her demand, on delivery of the three remaining books. Two persons at first, then ten, afterwards fifteen were appointed to take charge of these books, hence called *Quindecimviri*. These books were supposed to contain the fate of the republic, and in time of public danger or calamity were consulted by order of the senate. They of course became a very useful engine of state; but were burnt in the Marsic war, A. U. 690. Ambassadors were sent every where to collect the oracles of the Sibyls, of whom there were several; the chief of them was the Sibyl of Cumæ. From the verses collected in this search, the *Quindecimviri* compiled new books, which, by order of Augustus, were deposited in two gilt cases under the base of Appollo's statue, in his temple on the Palatine hill.

d *Corneliis.* Of the Cornelian family.

e *Potiri.* This verb governs the ablative, the genitive, and sometimes the accusative. *Potiri rebus*, to enjoy the world, as we sometimes speak; i. e. pleasure, wealth, &c. *potiri rerum*, to possess supreme power.

f *Incenso.* The first burning of the capitol is intended; for it was thrice destroyed by fire.

g *Haruspices.* From *ara*, anciently *hara*, and *specio;* the priests who derived omens of futurity from examining the victims and their entrails after sacrifice.

h *Abdicatus.* Some editions have *abdicato.* No person among

gistratu Lentulus, item ceteri in [i]liberis custodiis haberentur." Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum [k]aedilis, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Coeparius (nam is paullo ante ex fuga retractus) Cn. Terentio, senatori, traduntur.

XLVIII. INTEREA plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quae primo, cupida rerum novarum, nimis bello favebat, mutata mente, Catilinae consilia execrari, Ciceronem ad coelum tollere; veluti ex servitute erepta, gaudium atque laetitiam agitabant. Namque alia belli facinora praedae magis, quam [l]detrimento; incendium vero crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxume calamitosum putabat; quippe cui [m]omnes copiae in usu quotidiano et cultu corporis erant. Post eum diem, quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is cum se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione, si fides publica data esset; jussus a consule, quae sciret, edicere, eadem fere, quae Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de caede bonorum, de itinere hostium,

the Romans could be brought to trial, unless he was in a private station; therefore, Lentulus, who was Prætor, was obliged to abdicate his magistracy.

i *Liberis custodiis.* In prison at large. They were not committed to close prison, but to the care of magistrates, or private persons of respectability.

k *Aedilis.* Four magistrates were called by this name; two from the commons, called *ædiles plebis*, who decided less important causes under the inspection of the tribunes; and two from the nobility, called *ædiles curules*, because permitted to use the *sella curulis*, or chair of state. They had the charge of repairing the public edifices and roads; examined and rectified weights and measures, &c.

l *Detrimento.* *Fore* is understood not only in this, but in many other instances in Cortius's edition, though expressed in other editions.

m *Omnes copiæ.* All whose property consisted in utensils, or furniture in daily use, or in clothing for their bodies.

senatum edocet: praeterea, "se missum a M. Crasso, [n]qui Catilinae nunciaret, ne Lentulus, Cethegus, alii ex conjuratione deprehensi terrerent; eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret, et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur." Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, summa potentia; alii, rem incredibilem rati; pars, tamen etsi verum existumabant, tamen, quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis [o]leniunda, quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant, "indicem falsum," deque ea re postulant [p]uti referatur. Itaque, consulente Cicerone, frequens senatus decernit: "Tarquinii indicium falsum videri; eumque in [q]vinculis retinendum, neque amplius [r]potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem mentitus esset." Erant eo tempore, qui aestumarent, [s]illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius, adpellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone [t]immissum aiebant, ne Crassus, more suo, suscepto malorum patrocinio, rempublicam conturbaret. Ipsum

[n] *Qui.* Here elegantly used for *ut.*

[o] *Leniunda, quam exagitanda. Magis* being understood after *leniunda;* in some editions it is expressed. To be soothed rather than irritated.

[p] *Uti referatur.* That they should be consulted; that they should be allowed to deliberate on that subject.

[q] *In vinculis.* In prison. *Vinculum,* in the singular a chain; in the plural a prison, chains.

[r] *Potestatem faciundam.* And that he should not be permitted to enjoy freedom hereafter, should not be released. Some understand the words to import, that he should not be permitted to proceed in his testimony; but this appears to be too slight a punishment, for what they conceived to be perjury.

[s] *Illud. Indicium* understood; in some editions it is expressed.

[t] *Immissum.* Instigated.

Crassum ego postea praedicantem audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.

XLIX. SED isdem temporibus [u]Q. Catulus et [v]C. Piso, neque gratia, neque precibus, neque [w]pretio, Ciceronem impellere [x]potuere, uti per Allobroges, aut alium indicem, C. Caesar falso nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant; Piso obpugnatus in judicio [y]repetundarum, propter cujusdam [z]Transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod, extrema aetate, maxumis honoribus usus, ab [a]adolescentulo Caesare victus discesserat. Res autem [b]opportuna videbatur; quod privatim egregia liberalitate, [c]publice maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed, ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singulatim circumeundo, atque ementiundo, quae se ex Volturcio, aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant; usque [d]eo, ut

[u] *Q. Catulus.* The *princeps senatus*, or chief of the senate at the time.

[v] *C. Piso.* He was consul with Glabrio, and afterwards governed the province of Gaul, where he punished the person hereafter mentioned. He was defended by Cicero.

[w] *Pretio.* By money, by bribery. A meton.

[x] *Potuere.* In some editions *quivere.* They are equivalent.

[y] *Repetundarum.* This noun is used but in two cases, *repetundarum*, and *repetundis*, the ablative. *Oppugnatus in judicio repetundarum;* prosecuted in an action for extortion.

[z] *Transpadani.* A person who lived beyond the Po, with reference to Rome.

[a] *Adolescentulo.* Cæsar is here called a stripling, though he was thirty-five or thirty-six years of age, both in comparison with Catulus, who was far advanced in life, and because men were called *juvenes* and *adolescentes*, till they were forty-six, and sometimes till they were fifty years of age.

[b] *Opportuna.* Plausible, feasible, suitable.

[c] *Publice maxumis muneribus.* By the great shows which he had exhibited publicly, for the entertainment and gratification of the people.

[d] *Eo.* Some editions have *usque adeo.*

nonnulli equites Romani, qui, praesidii caussa, cum telis erant circum [e]Concordiae, seu periculi magnitudine, seu animi [f]nobilitate impulsi, quo studium suum in rempublicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Caesari gladio minitarentur.

L. DUM haec in senatu aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et Tito Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, praemia decernuntur; liberti, et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus, opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant [g]duces multitudinum, qui pretio rempublicam vexare soliti; Cethegus autem, per nuncios, [h]familiam atque libertos [i]suos, exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, [k]grege facto, cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu, [l]refert, QUID DE HIS FIERI PLACEAT, QUI IN CUSTODIAM TRADITI ERANT. Sed eos, paullo ante, frequens senatus judicaverat, CONTRA REMPUBLICAM FECISSE. Tunc D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tem-

[e] *Concordiæ. Ædem* being elegantly understood; in some editions it is expressed.

[f] *Nobilitate.* Some other editions read *mobilitate*, which, from Sallust's predilection for Cæsar, we might suppose to be the true reading: the meaning would then be, through mere levity, to make a parade of their patriotism.

[g] *Duces*, &c. The leaders of the mob. The want of commerce, which the Romans despised, and of course neglected, left the great body of the inhabitants of Rome in a state of poverty and idleness, and ready for any desperate enterprize, to which they might be stimulated by artful demagogues.

[h] *Familiam. Familia* signifies here, and often in other places, the slaves belonging to a family.

[i] *Suos.* In some editions *lectos* is found after *suos*.

[k] *Grege facto.* Before these words *ut* is elegantly understood; in some editions it is expressed.

[l] *Refert quid*, &c. Consults their pleasure with respect to those, &c.

pore [m]consul designatus erat, de his qui in custodiis tenebantur, praeterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat: isque postea, permotus oratione C. Caesaris, [n]pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis iturum se dixerat; quod de ea re, praesidiis additis, referundum censuerat. Sed Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum, rogatus sententiam a consule, hujuscemodi verba locutus est.

LI. "OMNIS homines, Patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia, vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa obficiunt; neque quisquam omnium [o]lubidini simul et usui paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet: si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia memorandi, P. C. qui reges [p]atque populi, ira, aut misericordia impulsi, male consuluerint: sed ea malo dicere, quae majores nostri, contra lubidinem animi, recte atque ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege [q]Perse gessimus, [r]Rhodiorum

m *Consul designatus.* The consul elect first delivered his opinion.

n *Pedibus iturum.* In order to show that he embraced the opinion of Nero, he declared that he would walk over to the other side of the senate, where Nero sat.

o *Lubidini simul,* &c Hath obeyed the dictates of passion, and of interest at the same time.

p *Atque populi.* In some other editions we read *aut qui populi.*

q *Perse.* Perses, or Perseus, son of Philip, and last king of Macedonia, vanquished and led in triumph by Paulus Æmilius.

r *Rhodiorum.* Rhodes, an island in the Mediterranean, consecrated to the sun, lies over against Caria and Lycia. In this island was the Colossus, or statue of Apollo, with a foot on each side of the harbour, and seventy feet high. Rhodes was famous also as a maritime state, and the place where the first code of maritime law was formed. The Rhodians were auxiliaries to the Romans in the war against Antiochus, king of Syria, and at the close of the war received a part of his kingdom as a reward.

civitas, magna atque magnifica, quae populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque adversa nobis fuit: sed postquam, bello confecto, de Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis, quam injuriae [s]caussa, bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos dimisere. Itém bellis Punicis omnibus, cum saepe Carthaginienses et in pace, et per inducias, multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi [t]per occasionem talia fecere: magis, [u]quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illis jure fieri posset, quaerebant. Hoc idem providendum est, Patres conscripti, ne [v]plus valeat apud vos P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus, quam vestra dignitas; neu magis irae, quam famae, consulatis. Nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, [w]novum consilium adprobo: sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat, [x]iis utendum censeo, quae legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, composite atque magnifice [y]casum reipublicae miserati sunt: quae belli saevitia, quae victis acciderent, enumeravere; rapi virgines, pueros; divelli liberos a parentium complexu; matres familiarum pati, quae victoribus collibuissent; fana atque domos exspoliari; caedem, incendia fieri; postremo, armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis! quo

[s] *Caussa.* This word is omitted in some editions.

[t] *Per occasionem,* &c. They never retaliated when opportunity offered.

[u] *Quid.* Less properly written *quod* in both branches of the sentence, as we find in some editions.

[v] *Plus valeat.* May not weigh more, may not be thought more important.

[w] *Novum consilium.* Unprecedented measure, viz. of putting citizens to death in defiance of the laws.

[x] *Iis.* *Pœnis* being understood.

[y] *Casum.* The unfortunate condition of the state. Some read improperly *causam.*

illa oratio pertinuit? an, uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? Scilicet quem res tanta atque tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendet! Non ita est: neque cuiquam mortalium injuriae suae parvae videntur: multi eas gravius aequo habuere. Sed aliis alia licentia, Patres conscripti. Qui [z]demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna pares sunt: qui magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est: [a]neque studere, neque odisse, sed minume irasci decet: quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, in imperio superbia atque crudelitas adpellatur. Equidem ego sic [b]aestumo, Patres conscripti, omnis cruciatus minores, quam facinora illorum, esse: sed plerique mortales [c]postrema meminere, et [d]in hominibus impiis sceleris obliti de poena disserunt, si ea paullo severior fuit. D. Silanum, virum [e]fortem atque strenuum, certe scio, quae dixerit, [f]studio reipublicae dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam, aut inimicitias exercere; eos mores, eam modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia non mihi crudelis, quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest? sed [g]aliena a republica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus, aut

z *Demissi in obscuro.* *Loco* being understood: sunk in obscurity.

a *Neque studere,* &c. Attachment, and hatred, but above all, passion is unbecoming.

b *Æstumo.* In other editions, *existimo.*

c *Postrema.* The last things, viz. their punishment.

d *In hominibus impiis.* With respect to wicked men, or, in the case of wicked men.

e *Fortem.* To distinguish it from *strenuum,* must here signify virtuous.

f *Studio reipublicæ.* In the spirit of patriotism; from affection to the state.

g *Aliena a republica,* &c. Not congenial with the principles of our government.

injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus poenae novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, cum, [h]praesenti diligentiâ clarissumi viri, consulis, tanta praesidia sint in armis. De poena possumus equidem dicere id, quod res habet; in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; [i]ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortalis! quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadverteretur? an, quia lex Porcia vetat? at aliae leges item condemnatis civibus animam non eripi, sed [k]in exilium permitti jubent. An, quia gravius est verberari, quam necari? quid autem acerbum, aut grave nimis in homines tanti facinoris convictos? sin, quia levius; quî convenit in minore negotio legem [l]timere, cum eam in majore neglexeris? At enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas reipublicae decretum erit? Tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidit, quidquid evenerit: ceterum vos, Patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis, considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex [m]bonis orta sunt: sed, ubi imperium ad ignaros, aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud [exemplum] ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedaemonii, devictis Atheniensibus, triginta vi-

[h] *Præsenti diligentia.* Used for *præsentia & diligentia*, by the promptitude and diligence.

[i] *Ultra.* A preposition taken adverbially; afterwards, *i. e.* after death.

[k] *In exilium.* *Ire* being understood. Some editions omit the preposition *in*.

[l] *Timere.* In some editions *observare:* the former is the stronger term *Timeo te*, I am afraid of you, I fear you as an enemy; *timeo tibi*, I fear for you, as a friend.

[m] *Bonis.* *Exemplis* understood. In some editions *initiis* follows *bonis*, which seems the preferable reading.

F 2

ros imposuere, qui rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primo coepere pessumum quemque et omnibus invisum [n]indemnatum necare: [o]ea populus laetari et merito dicere fieri. Post, ubi paullatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos [p]lubidinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere. Ita civitas servitute oppressa, stultae laetitiae gravis poenas dedit. Nostra memoria, victor Sulla cum [q]Damasippum et alios hujusmodi, qui malo reipublicae creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? homines scelestos, factiosos, qui seditionibus rempublicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnae initium cladis fuit. Nam, uti quisque domum, aut villam, postremo aut vas, aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, uti in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita, quibus Damasippi mors laetitiae fuerat, post paullo ipsi trahebantur: neque prius finis jugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego [r]haec non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus, vereor: sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest, alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manus, falsum aliquid pro vero credi: ubi hoc exemplo, per senati decretum, consul gladium eduxerit, quis finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur? Majores nostri, Patres conscripti, neque consilii, neque audaciae umquam eguere: neque superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab [s]Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum

n *Indemnatum.* Without a trial.

o *Ea.* Supply *negotia.* In some editions we find *eo.*

p *Lubidinose.* At their pleasure.

q *Damasippum.* A follower of Marius's faction, who had been city Prætor; and a cruel oppressor of the opposite party; but otherwise a person of no consequence in the state.

r *Hæc.* In some editions *hoc.*

s *Samnitibus.* A people of Italy to the North of Campania.

ab [t]Tuscis pleraque sumserunt: postremo, quod ubique apud socios, aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur: imitari, quam invidere bonis malebant. Sed, eodem illo tempore, Graeciae morem imitati, verberibus [u]animadvertebant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam respublica adolevit, et multitudine civium factiones valuere, circumveniri innocentes, alia hujuscemodi fieri coepere; tum lex Porcia aliaeque paratae, quibus legibus exilium damnatis permissum. Hanc ego caussam, Patres conscripti, [v]quo minus novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui ea [w]bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur, eos dimitti, et augeri exercitum Catilinae? minume: sed ita censeo; publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia quae maxume opibus valent; neu quis [x]de îs postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare, eum contra rempublicam et salutem omnium facturum."

They possessed the greater part of the district now called Abruzzo; that part of it next the Adriatic being inhabited by the Picentes. They maintained a war with the Romans for seventy years.

t *Tuscis.* A people of Italy, inhabiting the country to the north-westward of Rome, on the sea called by their name. The greatest and best part of it is now, or rather was lately, in the possession of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. From these people the Romans borrowed the *fasces*, *Trabea*, *Prætexta*, and other ensigns of office, and emblems of honour.

u *Animadvertebant.* *Animadvertere aliquem,* to observe one; *in aliquem,* to punish: though Cicero uses *animadvertere aliquid, in aliquid,* indiscriminately.

v *Quo minus.* Elegantly used for *ne.*

w *Benè parta.* What we have happily acquired.

x *De îs,* &c. And that no one should make application to the senate or people on their behalf.

LII. POSTQUAM Caesar dicendi finem fecit, [y]ceteri verbo, alius alii varie adsentiebantur: at M. Porcius Cato, rogatus sententiam, hujuscemodi orationem habuit. "Longe mihi alia mens est, Patres conscripti, cum res atque pericula nostra considero, et cum sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de poena eorum, qui patriae, parentibus, [z]aris atque focis suis, bellum paravere: res autem monet, cavere ab illis, [a]quam, quid in illis statuamus, consultare. Nam [b]cetera tum [c]persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra [d]judicia implores: capta urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortalis! vos ego adpello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, [e]tabulas vestras pluris, quam rempublicam fecistis: si ista, cujuscumque modi sint, quae [f]amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium praebere voltis; expergiscimini aliquando, et [g]capessite rempublicam. Non agitur de vectigalibus, non [h]de sociorum injuriis: libertas et anima nostra

y *Ceteri*, &c. The rest were divided in their opinions on the different measures proposed, and voted accordingly.

z *Aris atque focis*. *Ara* refers to the altar in the middle of the house, where the Penates were worshipped; and *focus* signifies the hearth in the hall, where the Lares were worshipped. Hence the phrase *aris atque focis* must be considered as a figurative expression, and implies,——against their religion, and dearest rights and privileges.

a *Quam*. *Magis* being understood. In some other editions it is expressed.

b *Cetera*. *Crimina*, or, *maleficia* must be understood. In some editions the latter word is expressed, I cannot help thinking with propriety.

c *Persequare*. You may prosecute, or punish.

d *Judicia*. Justice.

e *Tabulas*. Pictures; *pictas* being understood.

f *Amplexamini*. To which ye are fondly attached.

g *Capessite*. Take care of.

h *De sociorum injuriis*. Of injuries or injustice done to our allies.

in dubio est. Saepenumero, Patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc [k]ordine feci; saepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortalis ea caussa advorsos habeo; [l]qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius [l]lubidini malefacta condonabam. Sed, ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen respublica firma; opulentia [m]neglegentiam tolerabat. Nunc vero non id agitur, [n]bonis an malis moribus vivamus; neque quantum, aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani: sed cujus haec cumque [o]modi, nostra, an nobiscum una, hostium futura sint. Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat? jam pridem equidem nos vera rerum [p]vocabula amisimus; quia bona aliena largiri, liberalitas; malarum rerum audacia, fortitudo vocatur: [q]eo respublica in extremo sita. Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes [r]in furibus aerarii: ne [s]illis sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant. Bene et composite C. Caesar paullo

[i] *In dubio est.* Are in danger.

[k] *Ordine.* In this house, among this order or rank.

[l] *Qui——lubidini.* I, who never gave any indulgence to my own faults, was not easily inclined to pardon the crimes of others, from a desire of gratifying their darling passions.

[m] *Neglegentiam.* An archaism; afterwards written *negligentiam.*

[n] *Bonis.* In other editions we find *bonis ne:* the particle *ne* is elegantly omitted.

[o] *Modi.* After this word in some editions *videntur* is inserted; but it may with propriety be omitted.

[p] *Vocabula.* Names.

[q] *Eo,* &c. In so critical a situation is the state placed.

[r] *In furibus.* Towards, in the case of; an uncommon construction. The accusative after the preposition is more commonly used in this sense of it.

[s] *Illis.* More emphatical than *illi,* which is used in some other editions.

ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, falsa, credo, existumans, quae de inferis memorantur; diverso itinere malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, foeda atque formidolosa habere. Itaque censuit PECUNIAS EORUM PUBLICANDAS, IPSOS PER MUNICIPIA IN CUSTODIIS HABENDOS; videlicet [t]timens, ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis, aut [u]a multitudine conducta, per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe, et non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium, si periculum ex illis metuit: sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert mihi atque vobis timere. Quare, cum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinae et de omnibus conjuratis decernere. [v]Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit: si paullulum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt. Nolite existumare, majores nostros [w]armis rempublicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrumam eam nos haberemus: quippe sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum atque equorum major nobis copia, quam illis. Sed alia fuere, quae illos magnos fecere, quae nobis nulla sunt; domi industria, foris justum imperium, [x]animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto, neque lubidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; publice eges-

t *Timens.* This word might be elegantly understood, as it is in some editions.

u *A multitudine conducta.* By a hired mob.

v *Quantò vos attentius*, &c. The more vigorously ye shall act.

w *Armis.* *Tantum* or *modo* understood, in imitation of the Greeks.

x *Animus in consulendo*, &c. Their minds were unfettered in their deliberations; they were neither chargeable with guilt, nor influenced by passion.

tatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum; omnia virtutis praemia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum; ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae, aut gratiae servitis: eo fit, ut impetus fiat in [y]vacuam rempublicam. Sed ego haec omitto. Conjuravere nobilissumi cives patriam incendere: Gallorum gentem infestissumam nomini Romano ad bellum arcessunt: dux hostium [z]supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiam nunc, quid intra moenia adprehensis hostibus faciatis? Misereamini censeo; deliquere homines adolescentuli per ambitionem; atque etiam armatos dimittatis. [a]Ne ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam vertet. Scilicet [b]res aspera est; sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxume; sed, inertia et mollitia animi, alius alium exspectantes cunctamini, [c]dîs immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maxumis saepe periculis servavere. Non votis, neque [d]suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo [e]prospera omnia cedunt: ubi secordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequidquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros, T. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari jussit; atque ille egregius adolescens immoderatae fortitudinis

y *Vacuam.* Neglected, unprotected: *defensoribus*, or some similar word being understood.

z *Supra caput.* A phrase, which may be imitated in English by expressions alike figurative: At our doors; has the sword at our throats.

a *Ne.* An archaism fot *næ*, from the Greek *ναι*.

b *Res.* *Ipsa* is in some editions expressed after *res*.

c *Dîs.* *Videlicet* is expressed before *dis* in some editions.

d *Suppliciis.* Supplications, prayers.

e *Prospera.* Some editions have *prosperè*, less elegantly.

morte poenas dedit: vos de crudelissumis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini? Videlicet vita [f]cetera eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae, si dîs aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit: ignoscite Cethegi adolescentiae, nisi [g]iterum patriae bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Coepario loquar? quibus, si quidquam umquam [h]pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de republica habuissent. Postremo, Patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer, vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis; sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget: alii intra moenia, in sinu urbis sunt hostes: neque parari, neque consuli quidquam occulte potest; quo magis properandum. Quare ita ego censeo: cum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium respublica in maxuma pericula venerit, hique indicio T. Volturcii, et legatorum Allobrogum, convicti confessique sint, caedem, incendia, alia foeda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse; de confessis, sicuti de [i]manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum, supplicium sumendum."

LIII. POSTQUAM Cato adsedit, consulares omnes, itemque senatus magna pars, sententiam ejus [k]laudant, virtutem animi ad coelum ferunt; alii alios increpantes timidos vocant; Cato magnus atque clarus habetur; senati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat. Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quae populus Romanus, domi militiaeque, mari

[f] *Cetera*. Here used in the singular number, which is unusual in other authors.

[g] *Iterum*. After this word *jam* is expressed in some editions.

[h] *Pensi*. Consideration.

[i] *Manifestis*. Palpably guilty.

[k] *Laudant——ferunt*, &c. These verbs in the present tense give a peculiar sprightliness to the style, and as it were present the transactions before the eye of the reader.

atque terra, praeclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit attendere, quae res maxume tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam, saepenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse: cognoveram, parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; ad hoc, saepe fortunae violentiam toleravisse; facundia Graecos, gloria belli Gallos, ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa [l]agitanti constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est; rursus respublica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat; ac, sicuti [m]effoeta parentium, multis tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit. Sed, memoria mea, ingenti virtute, divorsi moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato, et C. Caesar; quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio praeterire, non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

LIV. IGITUR his genus, aetas, eloquentia, prope aequalia fuere; magnitudo animi par, item gloria; sed alia alii. Caesar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur; integritate vitae Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus: huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Caesar [n]dando, sublevando, ignoscendo; Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus. In altero miseris perfugium; in altero malis pernicies: illius [o]facilitas; hujus constantia

l *Agitanti*. Reflecting.

m *Effoeta parentium*. Like a child the offspring of parents worn out. Some editions have *effoeta parente;* the mother being in a manner worn out, or past bearing. In the last sense the words *effoeta parentium* may also be taken, *parentium* being used for *inter parentes*.

n *Dando——largiundo*. By giving, by liberality——by largesses, by bribery.

o *Facilitas*. Complaisance, condescension, yielding.

laudabatur. Postremo, Caesar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua neglegere; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, novum bellum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium [p]modestiae, decoris, sed maxume [q]severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque factione cum factioso; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentia certabat: esse, quam videri, bonus malebat. Ita, quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis sequebatur.

LV. POSTQUAM, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul [r]optumum factum ratus, noctem quae instabat, antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, [s]triumviros, quae supplicium postulabat, parare jubet: ipse, dispositis praesidiis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit: idem fit ceteris per praetores. Est locus in carcere, quod Tullianum adpellatur, ubi paullulum [t]escenderis ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper [u]camera, [v]lapideis fornicibus vincta: sed [w]incultu, tenebris, odore foeda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus Lentulus, [x]quibus prae-

p *Modestiae.* As opposed to *ambitionis,* must here signify moderation.

q *Severitatis.* Austerity, the rigid practice of virtue.

r *Optumum factum.* In other editions *optimum factu.* They amount to the same thing.

s *Triumviros.* *Capitales* being understood. The officers who had the charge of the prison, and of the execution of criminals; sheriffs, gaolers.

t *Escenderis.* An archaism for *ascenderis.*

u *Camera.* A chamber, a vault.

v *Lapideis,* &c. Secured by stone arches.

w *Incultu.* By not being kept clean, through want of cleanliness. Others will have it for want of inhabitants.

x *Quibus.* Before this word in other editions are inserted,

ceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius, ex clarissuma gente Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romae habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitum vitae invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Coepario, eodem modo supplicium sumtum.

LVI. DUM ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ex omni [y]copia, quam et ipse adduxerat, et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones [z]instituit; cohortes, pro numero militum, complet: deinde, ut quisque voluntarius, aut ex sociis in castra venit, aequaliter distribuerat; ac brevi spatio legiones [a]numero hominum expleverat, cum initio non amplius duobus millibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, [b]sparos, aut lanceas, alii [c]praeacutas sudes portabant. Sed, postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montes iter facere, ad urbem modo, modo in Galliam [d]versus castra movere; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare; sperabat prope diem [e]sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, [f]cujus initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fre-

vindices rerum capitalium, the executioners: these, or words equivalent, seem necessary to the sense.

y *Copia*. Number or force; a signification which *copia* rarely admits in the singular number.

z *Instituit*. He formed.

a *Numero*. The legion contained different numbers of men at different times, from 3000 to 6000.

b *Sparos*. Spears, or, as some think, darts.

c *Præacutas sudes*. Staves, stakes or poles pointed at the end.

d *Versus*. Taken adverbially.

e *Sese habiturum*. *Occasionem pugnandi* being understood. Some editions have *magnas copias habiturum*.

f *Cujus*. *Generis* being understood; or *cujus servitii*, singular relatives being sometimes referred to collective antecedents in the plural.

tus; simul [g]alienum suis rationibus [existumans] videri caussam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

LVII. SED, postquam in castra nuncius pervenit, Romae conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo, Cethego, ceteris, quos supra memoravi, supplicium sumtum; plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum, aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina per montis asperos, magnis itineribus, in agrum [h]Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte [i]perfugerent in Galliam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno praesidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans, quae supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movet, ac [k]sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat [in Galliam properanti.] Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat; [l]utpote qui magno exercitu, locis aequioribus, [m]expeditus, in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugae, neque [n]praesidii ullam spem; optumum factum ratus, in tali re fortunam belli tentare, statuit cum Antonio quamprimum confligere. Itaque, concione advocata, hujuscemodi orationem habuit.

LVIII. "COMPERTUM ego habeo, milites, [o]verba virtutem non addere; neque ex ignavo strenuum,

g *Alienum*, &c. Inconsistent with his views.

h *Pistoriensem.* Pistorium was a town in the western part of Tuscany, at the foot of the Appennines; now Pistoia.

i *Perfugerent.* Some editions have *perfugeret.*

k *Sub ipsis radicibus.* At the very foot.

l *Utpote qui.* In as much as he.

m *Expeditus.* Better than *expeditos,* found in some editions.

n *Præsidii.* Relief, succour.

o *Verba.* After this word *viris* seems to be omitted. It is expressed in other editions.

neque fortem ex timido exercitum, oratione imperatoris, fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura, aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet: quem neque gloria, neque pericula excitant, nequidquam hortere; timor animi auribus obficit. Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi; simul uti caussam consilii aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, secordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi cladem nobisque attulerit; quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc [p]quo in loco res nostrae sint, juxta mecum omnes intellegitis. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia, obstant: diutius in his locis esse, [q]si maxume animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiundum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis; et, cum praelium inibitis, memineritis, vos divitias, decus, gloriam, praeterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta, commeatus abunde, coloniae atque municipia patebunt: sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa advorsa fiunt: neque locus, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint. Praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet: nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus: illis supervacaneum est pugnare pro potentia paucorum. [r]Quo audacius adgredimini, memores pristinae virtutis. Licuit nobis, cum summa turpitudine, in exilio aetatem agere: potuistis nonnulli Romae, amissis bonis, alienas opes exspectare. Quia illa foeda atque intoleranda [s]viris videbantur,

p *Quo in loco.* How our affairs stand; our circumstances.
q *Si maxume,* &c. However much we might be inclined.
r *Quo audacius,* &c. Wherefore attack more boldly. *Adgredimini,* an archaism for *aggredimini* in the imperative mood.
s *Viris.* To men of spirit.

haec sequi decrevistis. Si [t]relinquere voltis, audacia opus est: nemo, nisi victor, pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, [u]cum arma, [v]quîs corpus tegitur, ab hostibus [w]averteris, ea vero dementia est. Semper in praelio maxumum est periculum, qui maxume timent: audacia pro muro habetur. Cum vos considero, milites, et cum facta vestra aestumo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. Animus, aetas, virtus vestra hortantur; praeterea necessitudo, quae etiam timidos fortis facit. Nam, multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae. Quod si virtuti vestrae fortuna inviderit, cavete, [x]inulti animam amittatis; neu capti potius, sicuti pecora, trucidemini, quam, virorum more pugnantes, cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis."

LIX. HAEC ubi dixit, paullulum commoratus, signa canere jubet, atque [y]instructos ordines in locum aequum deducit: dein, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus, exaequato periculo, animus amplior esset, ipse [z]pedes exercitum, [a]pro loco atque copiis, instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montis, et ab dextra [b]rupe aspera, octo cohortis in

[t] *Relinquere.* *Hæc* being understood. In other editions it is expressed.

[u] *Cum.* In some editions we find *tum* to connect *avertere* with *sperare.*

[v] *Quis.* Contracted for *quibus;* frequent in this author.

[w] *Averteris.* The perfect of the subjunctive. In other editions *avertere* in the infinitive.

[x] *Inulti.* *Ne* being elegantly understood.

[y] *Instructos ordines.* His troops as they were arranged.

[z] *Pedes.* On foot: a substantive in the nominative case singular; a footman.

[a] *Pro loco atque copiis.* As the situation of the ground required, and as the number of his troops admitted.

[b] *Rupe.* In other editions *rupes,* which appears to be the true reading.

fronte constituit: reliqua [c]signa [d]in subsidio artius collocat. Ab his centuriones omnis lectos, et [e]evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optumum quemque armatum, in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextera, Faesulanum quemdam in sinistra parte curare jubet: ipse cum libertis et colonis propter aquilam [f]adsistit, quam, bello [g]Cimbrico, C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus aeger, quod praelio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas [h]tumulti caussa conscripserat, in fronte; post eas, ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans adpellat, hortatur, rogat, uti meminerint, se contra latrones [i]inermos, pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis, [k]cernere. Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta [l]tribunus, aut praefectus, aut legatus, aut praetor, cum magna gloria [m]fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eo-

c *Signa.* Here figuratively used for forces.

d *In subsidio,* &c. He stations the rest of his force more closely as a body of reserve. *In subsidio,* in the sense in which it is here used, is an uncommon construction for *in subsidium.*

e *Evocatos.* Veteran soldiers, who had served out their time, and had been prevailed upon to follow the standard of a commander whom they approved, were called *evocati.* They were exempted from the drudgery of the military service.

f *Adsistit.* In some other editions *consistit.*

g *Cimbrico.* The Cimbri, a German nation, had, in conjunction with the Teutones, invaded the Roman empire, and were vanquished by Marius.

h *Tumulti.* The genitives of the fourth declension anciently ended in *i.*

i *Inermos.* *Inermus* and *inermis* are indiscriminately used.

k *Cernere.* Used here for *decernere,* the simple for the compound. In some editions we find *certare,* which is equivalent.

l *Tribunus.* A tribune, a military officer nearly corresponding to a colonel. In each legion there were six military tribunes who commanded under the consul.

m *Fuerat.* In some editions *in exercitu* is found before *fuerat;* but these words are superfluous.

rum fortia noverat: ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

LX. SED ubi, rebus omnibus exploratis, Petreius tuba signum dat, cohortis paullatim incedere jubet: idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum, unde a ferentariis praelium committi posset, maxumo clamore, [n]cum infestis signis concurrunt; pila omittunt; gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinae virtutis memores, comminus acriter instare; illi haud timidi resistunt: maxuma vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis [o]arcessere; omnia providere; multum ipse pugnare, saepe hostem ferire: strenui militis, et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilinam, contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem praetoriam in medios hostis inducit; eos perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus [p]adgreditur. Manlius et Faesulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam fusas copias, seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque pristinae dignitatis, [q]in confertissumos hostes incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

LXI. SED, confecto praelio, tum vero cerneres, quanta audacia, quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. Nam fere, quem quisque [r]pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amissa anima, corpore

n *Cum*. This preposition designates the style and manner of Sallust; though it is here unnecessary.

o *Arcessere*. In some other editions *accersere*, which is less proper.

p *Adgreditur*. Before which in some editions is found *ceteros*; but it is not absolutely necessary.

q *In confertissumos hostes*, &c. He rushes into the thickest of the enemy.

r *Pugnando*. In other editions *vivus pugnando*. *Vivus* seems unnecessary to the sense.

tegebat. Pauci autem, [s]quos cohors praetoria disjecerat, paullo diversius, sed omnes tamen adversis [t]volneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis, inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paullulum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in [t]voltu retinens. Postremo, ex omni copia, neque in praelio, neque iu fuga, quisquam [u]civis ingenuus captus. Ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae [v]juxta pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus: nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in praelio, aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui de castris, visundi, aut spoliandi gratia, processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem, aut cognatum reperiebant: fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum laetitia, moeror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

[s] *Quos.* In some editions *quos medios.*

[t] *Volneribus.* An archaism for *vulneribus;* so *voltu* for *vultu. Adversis vulneribus,* with wounds in front.

[u] *Civis ingenuus. Ingenuus* denotes a person born of parents who had always been free.

[v] *Juxta.* Taken adverbially, and used for *pariter.*

C. CRISPI
SALLUSTII
BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

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SALLUSTII

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

FALSO queritur de natura sua genus humanum; quod, [a]imbecilla atque aevi brevis, forte potius, quam virtute regatur. Nam contra, reputando, neque majus aliud, neque praestabilius invenias; magisque naturae industriam hominum, quam vim, aut tempus deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitae mortalium animus est: qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur, abunde pollens potensque et clarus est, neque fortunae eget; [b]quippe probitatem, industriam, alias artis bonas neque dare, neque [c]eripere potest. Sin, captus pravis cupidinibus, ad inertiam et voluptatis corporis [d]pessum datus est; perniciosa lubidine paullisper usus, ubi per secordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxere, naturae infirmitas accusatur: suam [e]quisque culpam [f]auctores

a *Imbecilla.* Agreeing with *natura*, which appears preferable to *imbecille* found in some editions, and agreeing with *genus*. *Imbecillus, a, um*, or *imbecillis—e*, are used indiscriminately in authors.

b *Quippe.* In some editions *quippe quæ:* the last seems more elegant.

c *Eripere potest.* In some editions we find *eripere cuiquam: cuiquam* appears superfluous.

d *Pessum.* The supine of the old verb *petior*, h. e. *subigor, pedibus calcor.* A similar construction is not uncommon; thus, we read, *venum, victum, pastum dare.*

e *Quisque.* In other editions *quique*, which is less proper.

f *Auctores.* In some editions *actores.* These words are frequently used in the same sense.

ad negotia transferunt. Quod si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multumque etiam periculosa petunt; neque regerentur magis, quam regerent casus, et eo magnitudinis procederent, [g]ubi, pro mortalibus, gloria aeterni fierent.

II. NAM, uti genus hominum compositum ex anima et corpore, ita res cunctae, studiaque omnia nostra, corporis alia, alia animi naturam sequuntur. Igitur [h]praeclara facies, magnae divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis, alia hujuscemodi omnia brevi dilabuntur; at ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. Postremo, corporis et [i]fortunae bonorum, ut initium, [k]finis est: omnia orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt: animus incorruptus, [l]aeternus, rector humani generis, [m]agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui, dediti corporis gaudiis, per luxum atque ignaviam aetatem agunt; ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius, neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, [n]incultu atque secordia torpescere sinunt; cum praesertim tam multae variaeque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

III. VERUM ex his magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum, minume mihi hac tempestate cupiunda videntur: quoniam neque virtuti honos datur; neque illi, quibus per fraudem jus fuit, tuti, aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam

g *Ubi.* Used here in an extraordinary sense for *ut.*

h *Præclara facies.* A fine face.

i *Fortunæ bonorum.* Of the goods of fortune.

k *Finis.* In other editions *sic finis.*

l *Æternus.* Some of the Greek philosophers, particularly the Stoics, held the soul to be eternal.

m *Agit,* &c. Actuates, directs, governs, and has power over all things. *Habet* is equivalent to *possidet.*

n *Incultu.* Through want of cultivation.

vi quidem regere patriam, aut [o]parentes, quamquam et possis, et delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est; cum praesertim omnes rerum mutationes caedem, fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant: frustra autem niti, neque aliud [p]fatigando, nisi odium, quaerere, extremae dementiae est; nisi forte quem inhonesta et perniciosa lubido tenet, potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam [q]gratificari.

IV. CETERUM, ex aliis negotiis quae ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est [r]memoria rerum gestarum: cujus de [s]virtute quia multi dixere, praetereundum puto; simul, ne, [t]per insolentiam, quis existumet, memet, [u]studium laudando, extollere. Atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi procul a republica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant: [v]certe, quibus maxuma industria videtur, [w]salutare plebem, et conviviis gratiam quaerere. Qui, si reputaverint, et quibus ego [x]temporibus magistratus adeptus sum, et quales viri idem adsequi nequiverint, et postea quae genera hominum in senatum pervenerint; profecto existumabunt, me magis [y]merito, quam igna-

o *Parentes.* From *pareo:* subjects.

p *Fatigando.* In other editions *se fatigando.*

q *Gratificari.* To give away, to sacrifice.

r *Memoria rerum gestarum.* A periphrastical expression for history.

s *Virtute.* Excellence.

t *Per insolentiam.* For *insolenter;* insolently, through vanity.

u *Studium.* Employment, profession.

v *Certe.* An elliptical sentence. *Certe imponant nomen inertiæ,* &c.

w *Salutare plebem.* It was usual with candidates for offices among the Romans to address every voter by his proper name, and familiarly to shake hands with him.

x *Temporibus.* In times of public confusion. Sallust was made Quæstor A. U. 702.

y *Merito.* Justly, with good reason.

via, judicium animi mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo, quam ex aliorum negotiis, reipublicae venturum. Nam saepe audivi, [z]Q. Maxumum, [a]P. Scipionem, praeterea civitatis nostrae praeclaros viros solitos ita dicere, CUM [b]MAJORUM IMAGINES INTUERENTUR, VEHEMENTISSUME SIBI ANIMUM AD VIRTUTEM ACCENDI. Scilicet non [c]ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere; sed, memoria rerum gestarum, eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit. At contra, quis est omnium [d]his moribus, quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria cum majoribus suis contendat? etiam homines [e]novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et [f]per latrocinia potius [quam bonis artibus] ad imperia et honores nituntur; proinde quasi praetura et consulatus, atque alia omnia hujuscemodi, per se ipsa clara, magnifica sint, ac non [g]perinde habeantur, ut eorum qui sustinent, virtus est. Verum ego [h]liberius al-

z *Q. Maxumum.* Quintus Fabius Maximus, the famous opponent of Annibal.

a *P. Scipionem.* Publius Scipio Africanus the younger, the son of Paulus Æmilius, but adopted into the family of Scipio.

b *Majorum imagines.* It was the privilege only of the nobility, and of such as enjoyed a curule office, to erect statues for themselves in the area, or entrance of their houses.

c *Ceram.* The wax of which the images were formed.

d *His moribus.* For *moribus hujus temporis.* During the prevalence of such manners.

e *Novi.* New men: men whose ancestors had not borne any curule office.

f *Per latrocinia.* By undue means, by unfair practices, by roguery.

g *Perinde habeantur, ut,* &c. *Ac* is more commonly used in this sense after *perinde.* And should not be estimated by the virtue and abilities of those who hold them.

h *Liberius,* &c. Too freely, and too far. The comparative is often used in this signification.

tiusque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget taedetque: nunc ad inceptum [i]redeo.

V. BELLUM scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurtha, rege [k]Numidarum, gessit: primum, quia magnum et atrox, [l]variaque victoria fuit: dein, quia tum primum superbiae nobilitatis obviam itum est; quae contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit, eoque vecordiae processit, uti [m]studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem faceret. Sed, priusquam hujuscemodi rei initium expedio, pauca [n]supra repetam; quo, [o]ad cognoscendum, omnia illustria magis, magisque in aperto sint. Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal, [p]post magnitudinem nominis Romani, Italiae opes maxume adtriverat, Masinissa, rex Numidarum, [q]in amicitia receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et praeclara rei militaris facinora fecerat: ob quae, victis Carthaginiensibus, et capto [r]Syphace, cujus in Africa magnum atque late impe-

[i] *Redeo.* The compound verb used for the simple *eo,* which must be here taken for *venio; eo* and *venio* being often used for each other.

[k] *Numidarum.* Numidia consisted of a part of that tract which is now called Barbary; the State of Algiers, including Biledulgerid.

[l] *Varia——victoria.* The success various; sometimes in favour of the Romans, sometimes in favour of Jugurtha.

[m] *Civilibus studiis.* Civil dissentions; political party spirit.

[n] *Supra repetam.* I shall trace back; I shall make a few previous observations.

[o] *Ad cognoscendum——magis,* &c. For, *quo omnia apertius cognoscantur;* for the more clear understanding of all things.

[p] *Post magnitudinem nominis,* &c. For, *postquam nomen Romanum magnum est factum.* Since the Roman name became great.

[q] *In amicitia.* More commonly *in amicitiam,* in the sense in which it is here taken, and as it is found in other editions.

[r] *Syphace.* Syphax was king of the Masæsyli. Their capital was Cirta.

rium valuit, populus Romanus, quascumque urbis et agros manu ceperat, [s]regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis permansit: [t]imperii vitaeque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa, filius, regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa, fratribus, morbo [u]absumtis. Is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit; Jugurthamque, Mastanabalis fratris filium, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum reliquerat, eodem [v]cultu, quo liberos suos, domi habuit.

VI. QUI ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxume ingenio validus, non se [w]luxu, neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit; sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare: et, [x]cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse: ad hoc, pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus, aut in primis ferire: plurimum facere, minumum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existumans virtutem Jugurthae regno suo gloriae fore; tamen, postquam hominem adolescentem, exacta sua aetate, parvis liberis, magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo volvebat. Terrebat natura mortalium, avida

[s] *Regi.* Viz. Masinissa.

[t] *Imperii,* &c. An ambiguous construction: meaning here, that his empire in its full extent continued only during his life; the grant of the Romans ceasing at his death.

[u] *Absumtis.* An archaism for *absumptis.*

[v] *Cultu,* &c. He brought him up in the same manner, and gave him the same education, as his own children.

[w] *Luxu.* The old dative for *luxui;* or it may be considered as an ablative after *corrumpendum,* and then there will be a variety of construction in the same sentence, which is not unusual with Sallust: Thus, in Cataline's conspiracy, chap. 25, *docta literis——multa alia.*

[x] *Cum.* Although.

[y]imperii, et [z]praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem: praeterea opportunitas suaeque et liberorum aetatis, quae etiam [a]mediocris viros spe praedae [b]transvorsos agit: ad hoc, studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa; ex quibus, si talem virum interfecisset, nequa seditio, aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus, ubi videt, neque per vim, neque insidiis, opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum [c]popularibus; quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus et adpetens gloriae militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis, et eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur, bello [d]Numantino, Micipsa cum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans, vel [e]ostentando virtutem, vel hostium [f]saevitia, facile occasurum, praefecit Numidis quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longe aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator, et morem hostium cognovit; multo labore, multaque cura, praeterea modestissume parendo, et saepe obviam eundo periculis, in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maxumo terrori esset. Ac sane, quod difficillumum in primis est, et praelio strenuus erat, et bonus

y *Imperii.* Of power.
z *Præceps*, &c. Prone to gratify their inclinations.
a *Mediocris.* Moderate.
b *Transvorsos.* Astray.
c *Popularibus.* For *populo*, beloved by the people.
d *Numantino.* Numantia was a city of Hispania Tarraconensis, which maintained a war with the Romans for fourteen, some say for twenty years. The rubbish of it is still to be seen at a place called Puente Garay, near the city Soria, in old Castile.
e *Ostentando.* By displaying.
f *Sævitia.* By the furious bravery.

consilio: quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem [g]adferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnis fere res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, [h]magis magisque in dies amplecti; quippe cujus neque consilium, neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Huc accedebat munificentia animi, et ingenii sollertia, quîs rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. EA tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiae bono honestoque [i]potiores erant, factiosi, domi potentes, apud socios clari magis, quam honesti: qui Jugurthae [k]non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, SI MICIPSA REX OCCIDISSET, FORE, UTI SOLUS IMPERII NUMIDIAE POTIRETUR: IN IPSO MAXUMAM VIRTUTEM, ROMAE OMNIA VENALIA ESSE. Sed, postquam, Numantia deleta, P. Scipio dimittere auxilia, ipse [l]revorti domum decrevit; donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in [m]praetorium abduxit, ibique secreto monuit, " uti potius [n]publice, quam privatim amicitiam populi R. coleret; neu [o]quibus largiri insuesceret: periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset: si permanere vellet in suis [p]artibus, [q]ul-

g *Adferre.* To generate, to produce. An archaism for *afferre.*

h *Magis,* &c. To be more and more attached to him every day.

i *Potiores,* &c. By whom riches were preferred to virtue and honour.

k *Non mediocrem.* The ambitious.

l *Revorti.* An archaism for *reverti.*

m *Prætorium.* The general's tent.

n *Publice,* &c. That he should cultivate the friendship of the Roman people in their public capacity, rather than that of individuals.

o *Quibus.* For *quibusvis,* as the word is frequently used.

p *Artibus.* In his own practices; in the exercise of those virtues and talents which he possessed.

q *Ultro.* Without any pains or trouble to him.

tro illi et gloriam, et regnum venturum; sin [r]properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum pecunia praecipitem casurum."

IX. SIC locutus, cum litteris, quas Micipsae redderet, dimisit: earum sententia haec erat. "Jugurthae tui bello Numantino longe maxuma virtus fuit; quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse: nobis ob merita carus est: uti idem senatui sit et populo Romano, summa ope nitemur. Tibi quidem [s]pro nostra amicitia gratulor: en habes virum dignum te, atque avo suo, Masinissa." Igitur rex, ubi, quae fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, cum virtute viri, tum gratia permotus, flexit animum suum, et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere adgressus est; statimque adoptavit, et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos, morbo atque aetate confectus, cum sibi finem vitae adesse intellegeret, coram amicis et cognatis, item Adherbale et Hiempsale, filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurtha habuisse.

X. "PARVUM ego, Jugurtha, te, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, in meum regnum accepi; existumans non minus me tibi, quam [t]liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore: neque ea res [u]falsum habuit. Nam, ut alia magna et egregia [v]tua omittam, novissume, rediens Numantia, meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti: tua virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissumos fecisti: in

[r] *Properantius.* Too hastily.

[s] *Pro nostra,* &c. In consideration of, or as is suitable to the friendship subsisting between us.

[t] *Liberis.* This word is omitted in some editions, and does not seem necessary.

[u] *Falsum,* &c. Nor was I disappointed. *Falsum habere, infestum, frustra habere,* are circumlocutions for *fallere, infestare, frustrare.*

[v] *Tua.* *Facinora* understood.

Hispania nomen familiae renovatum: postremo, quod difficillumum inter mortalis, gloria invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura vitae finem facit, per hanc dextram, [w]per regni fidem moneo obtestorque, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas; neu malis alienos adjungere, quam sanguine conjunctos retinere. Non exercitus, neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior, quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis; [x]sin mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maxumae dilabuntur. Ceterum ante hos te, Jugurtha, qui aetate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet. Nam, in omni certamine, qui opulentior est, etiam si accipit injuriam, quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem, et enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos [y]sumsisse videar, quam genuisse."

XI. AD ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem [z]ficta locutum intellegebat, et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis [a]diebus moritur. Postquam illi, more regio, [b]justa magnifice fecerant, [c]reguli in unum convenere, uti inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis, natura

[w] *Per regni fidem.* By the honour of royalty; by the honour of a king.

[x] *Sin.* Better than *si*, which is the reading in some editions.

[y] *Sumsisse* An archaism for *sumpsisse;* to have adopted.

[z] *Ficta locutum.* That the king spake insincerely.

[a] *Diebus.* In some editions we read *paucis post diebus.*

[b] *Justa.* Funeral rites. An ellipsis, for, *quæ regi erant justa.*

[c] *Reguli.* The princes Adherbal, Hiempsal and Jugurtha.

ferox, etiam anteà ignobilitatem Jugurthae [quia materno genere impar erat] despiciens, [d]dextra Adherbalem adsedit; ne medius ex tribus, quod [e]apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, uti aetati concederet, fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. Ibi cum multa de administrando imperio dissererent, Jugurtha inter alias res jacit: OPORTERE QUINQUENNII CONSULTA OMNIA ET DECRETA RESCINDI; NAM PER EA TEMPORA CONFECTUM ANNIS MICIPSAM PARUM ANIMO VALUISSE. Tum IDEM, Hiempsal, PLACERE SIBI, respondit; NAM IPSUM ILLUM TRIBUS HIS PROXUMIS [ANNIS] [f]ADOPTATIONE IN REGNUM PERVENISSE. Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthae [g]altius, quam quisquam ratus, descendit. Itaque, ex eo tempore, ira et metu anxius moliri, parare, atque ea modo animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quae ubi tardius procedunt, neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

XII. PRIMO conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros, finisque imperii singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius alio [h]concessere. Sed Hiempsal, in oppido Thirmida, forte ejus domo utebatur, qui, [i]proxumus lictor Jugurthae, carus acceptusque semper fuerat; quem ille,

[d] *Dextra.* Supply, *a manu.*

[e] *Apud.* In some editions we have *et apud,* which would imply that the middle place was the most honourable also among the Romans.

[f] *Adoptatione.* In some editions *adoptione.*

[g] *Altius.* More deeply.

[h] *Concessere.* For *discessere:* one of the compounds of *cedo,* taken for another.

[i] *Proxumus lictor.* Principal or chief sergeant; because the

casu ministrum oblatum, promissis onerat, [k]uti tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum [l]clavis adulterinas paret; nam verae ad Hiempsalem referebantur: ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi confecit; atque, ut doctus erat, noctu Jugurthae milites introducit. Qui postquam in aedis irrupere, [m]diversi regem quaerere: dormientis alios, alios occursantis interficere: scrutari loca abdita; clausa effringere: strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere: cum Hiempsal interim reperitur, occultans sese tugurio [n]mulieris ancillae, quo, initio, pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidae caput ejus, ut jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

XIII. Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divulgatur: Adherbalem omnisque, qui sub imperio Micipsae fuerant, metus invadit: in duas [o]partis discedunt: plures Adherbalem sequuntur, sed [p]illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quam maxumas potest copias armat; urbis partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo adjungit; omni Numidiae imperare parat. Adherbal, tamen etsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de caede fratris et fortunis suis; tamen, fretus multitudine militum, parabat armis contendere. Sed, ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex praelio profugit in provinciam, ac deinde Romam con-

principal of the lictors walked last, or next to the magistrate in public processions.

[k] *Uti.* Before this word in some editions we read *impellitque,* which seems necessary to the sense.

[l] *Claves adulterinas.* False keys.

[m] *Diversi.* Different ways.

[n] *Mulieris ancillæ.* For *mulieris ancillantis,* a maid servant.

[o] *Partis.* After which *Numidæ* is found in some editions.

[p] *Illum alterum.* The other. *Ille* is here used for the definite article.

tendit. Tum [q]Jugurtha, patratis consiliis, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum, neque advorsus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua, spem habere. Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam [r]mittit, quîs praecepit, uti primum veteres amicos muneribus expleant; deinde novos adquirant; postremo, [s]quaecumque possint largiundo parare, ne cunctentur. Sed, ubi Romam legati venere, et, ex praecepto regis, hospitibus, aliisque, quorum ea tempestate auctoritas pollebat, [t]magna misere; tanta commutatio incessit, uti ex maxuma [u]invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret; [v]quorum pars spe, alii praemio inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiundo, nitebantur, ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur, legati ubi satis confidunt, die constituto, senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

XIV. "PATRES conscripti, Micipsa, pater meus, moriens, praecepit, uti [w]regnum Numidiae tantummodo procuratione existumarem meum; ceterum [x]jus et imperium penes vos esse: simul eniterer

q *Jugurtha.* In some editions, *postquam omni Numidia potiebatur* follows Jugurtha.

r *Mittit.* *Legatos* understood. In some editions it is expressed.

s *Quæcumque.* In some editions *quemcumque*, which appears preferable.

t *Magna.* *Munera* is understood, though perhaps better expressed, as it is in some editions.

u *Invidia,* &c. From the greatest odium, or unpopularity, Jugurtha came into the good graces and favour of the nobility.

v *Quorum.* Refers to *nobilium* understood.

w *Regnum—procuratione.* In some editions *regni procurationem.* The administration of the kingdom.

x *Jus et imperium.* The right and government, or the right of government; two words connected together by a conjunction being often used, where the sense requires the latter to be put in the genitive case.

domi militiaeque quam maxumo usui esse populo Romano: vos mihi cognatorum, vos in adfinium locum ducerem: si ea fecissem, in vestra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni [y]habere. Quae cum [praecepta parentis mei] agitarem, Jugurtha, homo omnium quos terra sustinet, sceleratissimus, contemto imperio vestro, Masinissae me nepotem, et [z]jam ab stirpe socium et amicum [a]populo Romano, regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, Patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, vellem, potius ob mea, quam ob majorum beneficia posse auxilium petere; ac maxume deberi [b]mihi a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; [c]secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. Sed, quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas, neque mihi [d]in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret; ad vos confugi, Patres conscripti, quibus, quod miserrumum, cogor prius oneri, quam usui esse. Ceteri reges, aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram adpetiverunt: familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit; quo tempore magis fides ejus, quam fortuna petenda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, Patres conscripti, nolite pati frustra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil caussae haberem, praeter miserandam fortunam; quod paullo ante rex, genere, fama atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus aerumnis, inops, alienas opes exspecto; tamen erat majestatis

y *Habere.* It would appear more proper to read *me habiturum*, or simply *habiturum*, as in some other editions, in order to comport with *fecissem*.

z *Et jam.* In some editions *utique*.

a *Populo.* In some editions *populi*.

b *Mihi.* After this word we find *beneficia* in some editions.

c *Secundum ea.* Accordingly.

d *In manu.* In my power: a meton.

Romani populi, prohibere injuriam, [e]neque cujusquam regnum per scelus cresceret. Verum ego his finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit; unde pater et avus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses. Vestra beneficia erepta sunt, Patres conscripti: vos in mea injuria despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! Huccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia evasere, uti, quem tu parem cum liberis, regnique participem fecisti, is potissumum stirpis tuae extinctor sit? Nunquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga versabimur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, jure omnia saeva patiebamur: hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam illa [f]pestis ejecta, laeti pacem agitabamus; quippe quîs hostis nullus, nisi forte quem jussissetis. Ecce autem ex improviso, Jugurtha, intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia sese [g]ecferens, fratre meo, atque eodem propinquo suo, interfecto, primum regnum ejus sceleris sui praedam fecit: [h]post, ubi me îsdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus, quam vim, aut bellum exspectantem, in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, extorrem patria, domo, inopem et coopertum miseriis effecit, ut ubivis tutius, quam in meo regno essem. Ego sic existumabam, Patres conscripti, ut praedicantem audiveram patrem meum: qui vestram [i]amicitiam colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere; ceterum ex omnibus maxume tutos esse. Quod in familia nostra fuit, praestitit, uti in

[e] *Neque—cresceret. Ut* being understood; or rather *neque* is put for *et ne*. In other editions we read *neque pati—crescere.*

[f] *Pestis.* In some editions *ex Africa* is expressed after *pestis.* By *pestis* the Carthaginians are meant. A metaphor.

[g] *Ecferens.* An archaism for *efferens.*

[h] *Post.* For *postea,* a preposition taken adverbially, by enallage.

[i] *Amicitiam.* In some editions *diligenter* follows *amicitiam.*

omnibus bellis vobis [k]adessent: nos uti per otium tuti simus, in manu vestra est, Patres conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; tertium, Jugurtham, beneficiis suis ratus nobis conjunctum fore: alter eorum necatus, [l]alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid agam? quo potissumum infelix accedam? [m]Generis praesidia omnia extincta sunt: pater, uti necesse erat, [n]naturae concessit: fratri, quem minume decuit, propinquus, per scelus vitam eripuit: adfines, amicos, propinquos ceteros, alium alia clades oppressit: [o]capti ab Jugurtha, pars in crucem [o]acti, pars bestiis [o]objecti; pauci, quibus relicta anima, clausi in tenebris, cum moerore et luctu, morte graviorem vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quae aut amisi, aut ex necessariis advorsa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex [p]improviso accidisset, vos implorarem, Patres conscripti; quibus, pro magnitudine imperii, jus et injurias omnis curae esse decet. Nunc vero exsul patria, domo, solus, et omnium [q]honestarum rerum egens, [r]quo accedam, aut quos adpellem? nationesne, an reges, qui omnes familiae nostrae ob [s]vestram amicitiam infesti sunt? an quoquam adire licet, ubi non majorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima? [t]aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremo, Masinissa

k *Adessent.* Rather *adesset,* to accord with *præstitit,* as in some other editions.

l *Alterius.* In some editions *alter.*

m *Generis,* &c. All the supports of our family are cut off.

n *Naturæ concessit.* A figurative expression for *mortuus est.*

o *Capti, acti,* &c. Agreeing not with *pars,* but with *amici,* to which *pars* refers.

p *Improviso.* After this word *mali* is expressed in some editions.

q *Honestarum.* Decent.

r *Quo.* In some editions *quos.*

s *Vestram amicitiam.* On account of my friendship for you.

t *Aut.* In some editions *an.*

nos ita instituit, Patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus, nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne foedera nova acciperemus: abunde magna praesidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore: si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una nobis occidendum esse. Virtute ac dîs volentibus magni estis et opulenti: omnia [u]secunda et obedientia sunt: quo facilius sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthae, parum cognita, transvorsos agat: quos ego audio maxuma ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente, incognita caussa, statuatis: [v]fingere me verba, fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere. [w]Quod utinam illum, cujus impio facinore in has miserias projectus sum, eadem haec simulantem videam; et aliquando aut apud vos, aut apud deos immortalis rerum humanarum cura oriatur: [x]ne ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatus, impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis, mearumque miseriarum gravis poenas reddet. Jam jam, frater, animo meo carissume, quamquam immaturo, et unde minume decuit, vita erepta est; tamen laetandum magis, quam dolendum puto casum tuum; [y]non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem, et omnis has, quae

[u] *Secunda et obedientia.* Prosperous and obedient.

[v] *Fingere me verba.* That I invent stories; that my complaints are fictitious.

[w] *Quod utinam.* But I wish.

[x] *Ne ille—reddet.* *Ne* is here used for *næ;* and this sentence may then be considered as a sort of prophetical denunciation, which was fulfilled by the final imprisonment, and miserable death of Jugurtha. Some editions have *ut ille—reddat.*

[y] *Non enim.* *Tantum,* or *tantummodo* being understood. *Non,* when followed by the adversative conjunction *sed,* is used in this manner, *tantum* being understood, in imitation of the Greeks, by whom *μη* opposed to *ἀλλα* is frequently so used, *μονον* being understood.

me premunt, aerumnas cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala praecipitatus [z]ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum praebeo, incertus quid agam; tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens, an regno consulam, cujus vitae necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, [a]neu vivere [b]contemtus viderer, si, defessus malis, injuriae concessissem. Nunc [c]neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. Patres conscripti, per vos, [d]liberos atque parentes, per majestatem populi R. subvenite misero mihi; ite obviam injuriae; nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod vestrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiae nostrae tabescere."

XV. POSTQUAM rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthae largitione magis, quam caussa freti, paucis respondent: "Hiempsalem ob saevitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum: Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequivisset: Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne alium putarent, ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent." Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur: fautores legatorum, praeterea magna pars, gratia [e]depravati, Adherbalis dicta contem-

[z] *Ex.* In some editions *ex* is preceded by *pulsus*, which, however, is not necessary to the sense.

[a] *Neu.* In some editions we find *ne*, which does not appear so elegant.

[b] *Contemtus.* An archaism for *contemptus.*

[c] *Neque.* Some editions read *neque quoniam*, and the sentence is only completed at the close of Adherbal's speech.

[d] *Liberos.* This word is preceded by *per* in some editions, and this repetition seems to add a degree of elegance to the expression.

[e] *Depravati.* Referring to *senatores*, and not to *pars;* a mode of construction usual with Sallust. Other editions have *depravata.*

nere, Jugurthae virtutem extollere laudibus; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria, nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et aequum divitiis [f]carius, [g]subveniundum Adherbali, et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant: sed ex omnibus maxume Aemilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum; ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne [h]polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubidine continuit.

XVI. VICIT tamen in senatu pars illa, [i]qui vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebant. Decretum fit, UTI DECEM LEGATI REGNUM, QUOD MICIPSA OBTINUERAT, INTER JUGURTHAM ET ADHERBALEM DIVIDERENT: cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus, et tum in senatu potens; quia consul, [k]C. Gracco et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis, acerrume [l]victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha tametsi Romae in amicis habuerat, tamen [m]adcuratissume recepit: dando

[f] *Carius.* Agreeing with *aequum*, the last of the preceding substantives.

[g] *Subveniundum.* An archaism for *subveniendum.*

[h] *Polluta licentia.* Scandalous licentiousness; liberty abused.

[i] *Qui.* Referring to *senatorum* understood. Some other editions have *quae* agreeing with *pars.*

[k] *Caio Gracco.* Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, A.U 620, got a law passed, called an Agrarian law, prohibiting any person from possessing more than 500 acres of land; and for distributing the surplus among the poorer citizens. This law produced much dissention and confusion, was never executed, and cost the proposer his life. C Gracchus, supported by his colleague, M. Fulvius Flaccus, pursued the footsteps of his brother Tiberius. Both of them suffered a violent death.

[l] *Victoriam.* In some editions *vindictam.*

[m] *Adcuratissume.* Very respectfully, very ceremoniously. Some editions have *curatissime.* It is perhaps superfluous to

et pollicitando perfecit, uti [n]fama, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferret. Reliquos legatos eadem via adgressus, plerosque capit: paucis carior fides, quam pecunia fuit. In divisione, quae pars Numidiae [o]Mauretaniam adtingit, agro, viris opulentior, Jugurthae traditur: [p]illam alteram specie, quam usu, potiorem, quae portuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

XVII. RES postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere, et eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum, aut amicitia fuit, adtingere. Sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem, aut asperitatem, item solitudines minus frequentata sunt, de îs [q]haud facile compertum narraverim: cetera quam paucissumis absolvam. In divisione orbis terrae plerique [r]in partem tertiam Africam posuere: [s]pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse; sed Africam in

observe again that *adcuratissime* is an archaism for *accuratissime.*

n *Fama, fide.* Some consider these as datives for *famai, fidei;* but though genitives in *ai* are not unfrequent, the dative of this form is very rare. Others think *fama, fide* are ablatives, and produce a similar construction in Cicero's oration for Balbus: *libertatem civitate anteferrent.* Others read *famæ et fide:* datives in *e* having been common among the ancients.

o *Mauretaniam* The kingdoms of Fez and Morocco comprehend the whole country of Mauretania truly and properly so called, and divided into Tingitana, and Sitifensis. Cæsariensis belonged to Numidia, and was not accounted to Mauretania, till after the death of Jugurtha, when it was given to Bocchus in reward of his treachery.

p *Illam.* Used for the definite article.

q *Haud facile,* &c. I cannot easily speak with certainty.

r *In partem.* Some editions have *in parte.* A peculiar phraseology for *Africam tertiam partem fecerunt.*

s *Pauci,* &c. This phraseology is ambiguous. The meaning is *pauci duas esse partes voluerunt, scil. Asiam et Europam,* &c. They divided the earth into two parts, Asia and Europe, and comprehended Africa in Europe.

Europa. Ea finis habet, ab occidente, [t]fretum nostri maris et oceani; ab ortu solis, [u]declivem latitudinem, quem locum [u]Catabathmon incolae adpellant. [v]Mare saevum, importuosum: ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infecundus: coelo, terra, penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum: plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro, aut [w]bestiis interiere: nam morbus haud saepe quemquam superat. Ad hoc, [x]malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quomodo inter se permixti sint; quamquam ab ea fama, quae plerosque obtinet, diversum est; tamen, uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terrae putant, quam paucissumis dicam. Ceterum [y]fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

XVIII. AFRICAM initio habuere [z]Gaetuli et [a]Li-

t *Fretum*, &c. By *fretum* here must be meant the *fretum Gaditanum* or *Herculeum*, the straits of Gibraltar. By *nostri maris* is to be understood the Mediterranean sea, to which the Romans claimed a right, as being almost enclosed by their dominions. By *oceani* is meant the Atlantic ocean. *Fretum maris*, &c the strait between our sea and the ocean. Sallust's geography will not bear a critical examination.

u *Declivem latitudinem*——*Catabathmon*. A wide or large tract or valley sloping towards Egypt; hence called *Catabathmos*, a Greek word signifying descent. This description does not accord with the present boundaries of Africa, which reaches to the Red Sea, and includes Egypt.

v *Mare sævum*, &c. A boisterous sea without harbours.

w *Bestiis*. In some editions *a bestiis*. The reading in the text is preferable.

x *Malefici*, &c. Serpents, lions, hyænas, tigers, &c.

y *Fides ejus*, &c. Let the authors of this account be responsible for its credibility. Its credit must rest with the authors.

z *Gætuli*. A wandering set of people living in the interior of Africa, to whom different authors assign different places o residence.

a *Libyes*. Libya was a part of Africa, from which the whole

byes, asperi, inculti; quîs cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus, neque lege, [b]neque imperio cujusquam regebantur: vagi, palantes, [c]qua nox coëgerat, sedes habebant. Sed, postquam in Hispania [d]Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit, exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce, ac passim multis, sibi [e]quîque, imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero [f]Medi, [g]Persae et [h]Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, prox-

was frequently denominated. It was distinguished by different additions, according to the part of the country intended to be described: Marmarica, which had Egypt on the east, Cyrene on the west, part of the Mediterranean on the north, and Ethiopia superior on the south; Libya interior, which had mount Atlas on the north, Barbary and Cyrenaica on the east, Libya, Marmarica, and part of Ethiopia superior, or the Abyssinian empire on the south, Ethiopia inferior, Negroland, and the Atlantic ocean on the west, &c. There is nothing in our author positively to determine what people he intended by the name Libyes.

[b] *Neque.* In some editions, instead of *neque,* we find *aut,* very improperly.

[c] *Qua.* In some editions *quas,* referring to *sedes.*

[d] *Hercules.* There were many of this name, all whose achievements were attributed to one.

[e] *Quîque.* In the ablative, the same with *quoque.* Some editions have *quisque.*

[f] *Medi.* Media, bounded on the east by Parthia, and part of Hyrcania, on the west by Armenia major, and part of Assyria, on the north by the Caspian sea, and a part of Armenia major, now included in Georgia, on the south by Persia.

[g] *Persæ.* Persia was bounded east by India, west by Media, Assyria and Chaldæa, north by Tartary, and south by the ocean.

[h] *Armenii.* Armenia was distinguished into major and minor: the former bounded east by Media, and part of the Caspian sea, west by the Euphrates, which divides it from Armenia minor, north by Colchis or Mingrelia, and south by Mesopotamia, and part of Assyria. Armenia minor, a part of Anatolia, or Asia minor, and bounded east by the Euphrates, which separates it from Armenia major, south by mount Taurus, which divides it from Cilicia, west and north by a chain of hills,

umos nostro mari locos occupavere. Sed Persae [i]intra oceanum magis: iique alveos navium inversos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hispanis emundi, aut mutandi copia erat: mare magnum et ignara lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paullatim per connubia Gaetulos [k]miscuere: et, quia saepe tentantes agros, alia, deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi [l]Numidas adpellavere. Ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta quasi navium carinae sunt. Medis autem et Armenis accessere Libyes (nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant; Gaetuli [m]sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus) [n]hique mature oppida habuere; nam, [o]freto divisi ab Hispania, mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paullatim Libyes corrupere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis adpellantes. Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit: ac postea [p]nomine Numidae, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possidere ea

called in different places Mons Scordiscus, Amænus, or Antitaurus, which divides it from Cappadocia, of which it was once a part, till conquered by the Armenians.

i *Intra oceanum*, &c. More upon the ocean, i. e. on the coast of Africa, without the straits of Gibraltar, where the land, bending outwards, the Atlantic seems to embrace, and enfold the country in its arms.

k *Miscuere*. *Secum* understood; in some editions it is expressed.

l *Numidas*. The Numidians must have been originally a pastoral people, as appears from their name; *νομη* signifying pasture, from *νεμω*, *pasco*.

m *Sub sole*. Rather more under the sun, i. e. nearer to the equator.

n *Hique*. *Hi* here refers to the more remote antecedents, *Medi et Armenii*.

o *Freto*. *Tantum* being understood; by the strait only.

p *Nomine*, &c. That is, Persians called Numidians, or, who had assumed the name of Numidians.

loca, quae [q]proxume Carthaginem Numidia adpellatur. Dein utrique alteris freti finitumos armis aut metu sub imperium [r]cogere, [s]nomen gloriamque sibi addidere; magis hi, qui ad nostrum mare processerant: quia [t]Libyes, quam Gaetuli, minus bellicosi: denique Africae pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est: victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium [u]concessere.

XIX. POSTEA [v]Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuendae gratia, pars imperii cupidine, sollicitata plebe et aliis novarum rerum avidis, [w]Hipponem, [x]Hadrumetum, [y]Leptim aliasque urbis in ora maritima condidere: haeque brevi multum auctae, pars originibus praesidio, aliae decori fuere: nam de [z]Carthagine silere melius puto, quam parum dicere; quoniam alio properare tempus monet. Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa dividit, [a]secundo mari, prima [b]Cyrene est, co-

q *Proxume Carthaginem.* *Ad* being understood.

r *Cogere.* In some other editions *coegere,* which I should prefer to accord with *addidere.*

s *Nomen.* Renown, reputation.

t *Libyes.* The meaning is, that the Numidians, when they removed to the Mediterranean, acquired glory by the conquest of the Libyans, who were less warlike than the Getulians.

u *Concessere.* Fell, sunk, merged into the nation, &c.

v *Phœnices.* Phœnicia was bounded east and south by Palestine, north by Syria, west by the Mediterranean. A part of the inhabitants of this country removed into Africa, after the conquest of Joshua.

w *Hipponem.* This city was the birth place of St. Augustine, and has since been called Bonne.

x *Hadrumetum.* A town situated not far from Carthage, now called Mahometta.

y *Leptim.* There were two cities of this name; the greater between the two Syrtes, now Lebida in the Tripolitane, the lesser between the lesser Syrtes and Carthage, now Lempta. The former is here spoken of.

z *Carthagine.* Carthage was a famous city of Africa, situated a short distance from the modern Tunis.

a *Secundo mari.* Along the sea.

b *Cyrene.* Bounded east by Marmarica, west by Africa pro-

lonia [c]Thereôn, ac deinceps duae [d]Syrtes, interque eas Leptis: dein [e]Philenôn arae, [f]quem, Aegyptum versus, finem imperii habuere Carthaginienses: post aliae [g]Punicae urbes. Cetera loca usque ad Mauretaniam Numidae tenent: proxume Hispaniam Mauri sunt: [h]super Numidiam Gaetulos accepimus partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare; post eos [i]Aethiopas esse; dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque [k]ex Punicis oppida, et finis Carthaginiensium, quos [l]novissume habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat: Gaetulorum magna pars, et [m]Numidia usque ad flumen [n]Mulucham, sub Jugurtha erant: Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, praeter nomen, [o]cetera ignarus populi Romani; itemque nobis neque bello, neque pace, antea cognitus. De Africa et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

per, or the state of Tunis, part of the Mediterranean, and the greater Syrtis, north by the Mediterranean, and south by Libya inferior, or the deserts of Libya. Its chief city was called Cyrene, now Cairoan.

c *Thereôn.* The Greek genitive plural. The settlers in Cyrene came from Thera, an island in the Ægean sea, to the north of Crete.

d *Syrtes.* Two quicksands; the greatest is the eastermost, called also the gulf of Sidra; the lesser the westermost, called now the gulf of Cabes.

e *Philenôn.* The Greek genitive plural.

f *Quem. Locum* understood; in some editions it is expressed.

g *Punicæ.* Carthaginian; from the theme *Φοινιξ*, a palm tree.

h *Super Numidiam.* Beyond Numidia, southerly.

i *Æthiopas.* These, according to Sallust, inhabited the middle of Africa, from east to west.

k *Ex punicis oppida.* The more usual construction would be, *ex punicis oppidis. Oppida* is here governed by *administrabat.*

l *Novissume.* Very lately.

m *Numidia.* In some editions *Numidæ.*

n *Mulucham.* A river of Mauretania Tingitana, now called Moluchath, Molochath, Malva, or Mulva.

o *Cetera. Quoad, quod ad,* or *secundum* understood.

XX. POSTQUAM, regno diviso, legati Africa discessere, et Jugurtha contra timorem animi praemia sceleris adeptum sese videt; certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romae venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paullo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus: at is, quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, [p]placido ingenio, [q]opportunus injuriae, metuens magis, quam metuendus. Igitur ex improviso, finis ejus cum magna manu invasit, multos mortalis cum pecore atque alia praeda capit, aedificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit; dein cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convertit, existumans dolore permotum Adherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli caussam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat, et amicitia populi Romani magis, quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit: qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit, quam bellum [r]sumere; quia tentatum antea [s]secus cesserat. Neque tamen eo magis cupido Jugurthae minuebatur; quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaserat. Itaque non, ut antea, cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato, bellum gerere coepit, et aperte totius Numidiae imperium petere. Ceterum, qua pergebat, urbis, agros vastare, praedas agere; suis animum, terrorem hostibus augere.

XXI. ADHERBAL ubi intellegit, eo processum,

[p] *Placido.* In some editions *placidus.*

[q] *Opportunus injuriæ.* A fit subject of injustice; on whom injuries might be committed without danger.

[r] *Sumere.* For *assumere,* or *suscipere,* to undertake.

[s] *Secus cesserat.* Had not succeeded; had been unsuccessful.

uti regnum aut relinquendum esset, aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat, et Jugurthae obvius procedit. Interim haud longe a mari, prope [t] Cirtam oppidum utriusque consedit exercitus: et, quia [u] die extremum erat, praelium non inceptum. Ubi plerumque noctis processit, [v] obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini, signo dato, castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos [w] partim, alios arma sumentes fugant funduntque: Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et, ni multitudo [x] togatorum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentes moenibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum foret. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumsedit, [y] vineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare adgreditur; maxume festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos, ante praelium factum, Romam ab Adherbale missos audiverat. Sed, postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, [tres adolescentes] in Africam legantur, qui ambo reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuncient, "[z] velle et censere, eos ab armis

[t] *Cirtam.* A Numidian city noted for being the royal seat of Syphax, and situated not far from the sea; by some supposed to be the same with Constantina.

[u] *Die.* The old genitive for *diei.*

[v] *Obscuro,* &c. Before it was quite light.

[w] *Partim.* This adverb is often take adjectively for *alios,* &c.

[x] *Togatorum.* The Romans were called *togati,* from the gowns which they wore; for a similar reason the Greeks were called *palliati,* and the Gauls *braccati.*

[y] *Vineis.* Machines in form of sheds, or mantlets, constructed of wood and hurdles, under cover of which the Roman soldiers worked the Ram, or advanced to the enemy's walls, to undermine them. The *turres* were structures of wood, of a square form, equal in height to the walls, or a little higher, rolled on wheels, and pushed forward by men behind them. On these armed men annoyed the besiegers.

[z] *Velle et censere.* The people were properly said, *velle,* to will a measure; the senate, *censere,* to determine after mature deliberation.

discedere; de controversiis suis jure potius, quam bello disceptare; ita seque illisque dignum fore."

XXII. LEGATI in Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis, quod Romae, dum proficisci parant, de praelio facto et oppugnatione Cirtae audiebatur: sed is rumor [a]clemens erat. Quorum Jugurtha accepta [b]oratione respondit: "sibi neque majus quidquam, neque carius auctoritate senati: ab adolescentia ita enisum, uti ab optumo quoque probaretur: virtute, non malitia P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse: ob easdem artis ab Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum: ceterum, quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare: Adherbalem dolis vitae suae insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri obviam isse: populum Romanum neque recte, neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium [c]sese prohibuerint: postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum." Ita utrique digrediuntur. Adherbalis adpellandi copia non fuit.

XXIII. JUGURTHA, ubi eos Africa [d]decessisse ratus est, neque, propter loci naturam, Cirtam armis expugnare potest; [e]vallo atque fossa moenia circumdat, [f]turris exstruit, easque praesidiis firmat: praeterea dies, noctes, aut per vim, aut dolis ten-

[a] *Clemens.* Mild, which lessened or softened the atrocity of the act.

[b] *Oratione.* Anciently an ambassador was called *orator*, and his embassy, message, or commission, *oratio.*

[c] *Sese.* The use of this pronoun here shows, that, when it was not absolutely necessary to determine the sense, the distinction between *eum* and *se* was not always maintained.

[d] *Decessisse.* *Decedo* and *discedo* are often used for each other.

[e] *Vallo.* *Vallus* signifies a stake, *vallum* a rampart, because the earth of which it was composed was kept together by stakes; and *vallis*, a valley, may have originally signified the hollow space whence the earth was dug to form the rampart.

[f] *Turris.* *Turris* signifies here a fixed turret, erected to secure

tare; defensoribus moenium praemia modo, modo formidinem ostentare; suos hortando ad virtutem erigere; prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal, ubi intellegit omnis suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariarum bellum trahi non posse; ex his, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duo maxume impigros delegit, eos multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proxumum mare, dein Romam pergerent.

XXIV. NUMIDAE paucis diebus jussa efficiunt: litterae Adherbalis in senatu recitatae, quarum sententia haec fuit. "Non mea culpa saepe ad vos oratum mitto, Patres conscripti, sed vis Jugurthae subigit: quem tanta lubido exstinguendi me invasit, uti neque vos, neque deos immortalis in animo habeat; sanguinem meum, [g]quam omnia, malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem, socius et amicus populi Romani, armis obsessus teneor: neque mihi Micipsae patris beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur: ferro, an fame acrius [h]urguear, incertus sum. Plura de Jugurtha scribere, dehortatur fortuna mea: etiam antea expertus sum, parum fidei miseris esse: [i]nisi tamen intellego, illum supra, quam ego sum, petere, neque simul amicitiam vestram, et regnum meum sperare: utrum gravius existumet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem, fratrem meum; dein patrio regno me expulit:—quae sane fuerint nostrae injuriae,

the rampart and other works against the attacks of enemies from within, or from without, as well as to annoy the besieged.

g *Quam. Malit*, being equivalent to *magis velit*, supersedes the necessity of inserting *magis* before *quam*.

h *Urguear*. An archaism for *urgear*.

i *Nisi*. This is still used as an exceptive particle. The meaning is, I will write *nisi hoc unum*, but this one thing. *Nisi tamen hoc unum scribam, quod intelligo*, &c.

nihil ad vos. Verum nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet: me, quem imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum [k]obsidet: legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant. Quid reliquum, nisi vis vestra, quo moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem, et haec quae scribo, et quae antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed, quoniam eo natus sum, ut Jugurthae scelerum ostentui essem, non jam mortem neque aerumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiae, quod vestrum est, uti lubet, [l]consulite: me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii, [m]per amicitiae fidem; si ulla apud vos memoria [n]avi mei, Masinissae."

XXV. HIS litteris recitatis, fuere, qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, et quam primum Adherbali subveniundum; de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam non paruisset legatis. Sed ab îsdem regis fautoribus summa ope [o]enisum, ne [p]decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Leguntur tamen in Africam majores natu, nobiles, amplis [q]honoribus: in quîs M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis, et tum senati [r]prin-

[k] *Obsidet.* In some editions *tenet atque obsidet.* But to this reading it may be objected that *tenet* is found before in the same sentence.

[l] *Consulite. Consulo,* with the dative, signifies to give advice or provide for; with the accusative, to consult or ask advice.

[m] *Per amicitiæ fidem.* By the honour of your alliance, or by the respect due to friendship.

[n] *Avi.* Before *avi* some editions have *remanet.*

[o] *Enisum.* The partizans of the king laboured with all their might. *Enisum* is here taken as a passive deponent.

[p] *Decretum.* In some editions *tale decretum.*

[q] *Honoribus.* In some editions *honoribus usi.*

[r] *Princeps.* The *princeps senatus* was the person who had his name first inserted on the censor's roll, and who was usually

ceps. Hi, quod in invidia res erat simul, et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim [s]escendere: dein brevi [t]Uticam adpulsi, litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, QUAM OCISSUME AD PROVINCIAM ACCEDAT; SEQUE AD EUM AB SENATU MISSOS. Ille ubi accepit, homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romae pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse; primo commotus, metu atque lubidine divorsus agitabatur. Timebat iram senati, [ni paruisset legatis:] porro animus cupidine caecus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. Vicit tamen in [u]avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur, exercitu circumdato, summa vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur, maxume sperans, diducta manu hostium, aut vi, aut dolis, sese casum victoriae inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit, neque, quod intenderat, efficere potest, uti prius, quam legatos conveniret, Adherbalis potiretur; ne amplius morando, Scaurum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac, tamen etsi senati verbis minae graves nunciabantur, quod [v]oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione consumta, legati frustra discessere.

XXVI. EA postquam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute moenia [w]defensabantur, confisi, deditione facta, propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent, uti seque, et oppidum Jugurthae tradat; tantum ab eo vitam

first called upon to give his opinion, unless there were consuls elect.

s *Escendere.* An archaism for *ascendere.*

t *Uticam.* A city in what is now called the state of Tunis; a Tyrian colony, and famous for the death of Cato, and for its fine and capacious haven.

u *Avido ingenio.* In his ambitious soul.

v *Oppugnatione.* In some editions *ab oppugnatione.*

w *Defensabantur.* Another instance of a frequentative used instead of the primitive verb.

paciscatur; de ceteris senatui curae fore. At ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Jugurthae rebatur; quia penes eosdem, si advorsaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditionem [x]facit. Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem [y]excruciatum necat: dein omnis puberes, Numidas et negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatis obvius, interfecit.

XXVII. QUOD postquam Romae cognitum, et res in senatu agitari coepta, îdem illi ministri regis interpellando, ac saepe gratia, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac, ni C. Memmius, [z]tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer, et infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset, [a]ID AGI, UTI PER PAUCOS FACTIOSOS JUGURTHAE SCELUS CONDONARETUR, profecto omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa [b]erat: tanta vis gratiae, atque pecuniae regis. Sed, ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, [c]lege Sempronia provinciae futuris consulibus, Numidia atque Italia decretae: consules [d]declarantur P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius: Calpurnio

x *Facit.* In some editions *fecit.*

y *Excruciatum necat.* An elegant mode of expressing the same sentiment with *postquam excruciasset, necat.*

z *Tribunus plebis.* These officers were created A.U. 260, to protect the people against the oppression of the senate and nobility. At first 2, then 5, and at length 10 were appointed. In consequence of the law rendering their persons inviolable, they at length became extravagantly imperious, and abused their power.

a *Id agi.* That it was in agitation.

b *Dilapsa erat.* In other editions *dilapsa foret*; but the indicative is sometimes used for the subjunctive, in other authors, in similar circumstances

c *Lege Sempronia.* By this law, the author of which was C. Semp. Gracchus, tribune of the people, it was ordained that the senate, before the annual elections, should determine what should be the provinces of the consuls.

d *Declarantur.* In some editions *declarati.*

Numidia, Scipioni Italia [e]obvenit: deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, [f]scribitur: stipendium, alia, quae bello usui forent, decernuntur.

XXVIII. AT Jugurtha, contra spem nuncio accepto, quippe cui, Romae omnia [g]venum ire, in animo haeserat; filium, et cum eo duo familiaris, ad senatum legatos mittit: hisque, ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, [h]praecepit, "omnis mortalis pecunia adgrediantur." Qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus, PLACERETNE LEGATOS JUGURTHAE [i]RECIPI MOENIBUS: iique decrevere, "nisi regnum, ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus [proxumis] decem Italia decederent." Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nunciari jubet: ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, [k]legat sibi homines nobilis, factiosos, quorum auctoritate, quae deliquisset, munita fore sperabat: in quîs fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura et habitu supra memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multae bonaeque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnis avaritia praepediebat: patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissumus contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam [l]Rhegium, atque inde [m]Siciliam, porro ex

e *Obvenit.* Fell to the lot of.

f *Scribitur.* *Scribere milites,* to raise, levy or enlist soldiers, because their names were written on tables.

g *Venum ire.* In other editions *venire.*

h *Præcepit.* In some editions *præcipit.*

i *Recipi moenibus.* Those whom the Romans did not incline to admit into the city were entertained in a *villa publica* erected without the walls, or had a hearing in the temple of Bellona, which was also without the city.

k *Legat.* Appoints for his lieutenants.

l *Rhegium.* A city and promontory in *Calabria ultra,* in the southern part of Italy, nearly opposite to Messina in Sicily.

m *Siciliam.* A well known and very fruitful island in the Mediterranean, formerly called Triquetra, and Trinacria, from

Sicilia in Africam, transvectae. Igitur Calpurnius initio, paratis commeatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est, multos mortalis, et urbis aliquot pugnando [n]capit.

XXIX. SED, ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecunia tentare, bellique, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere coepit, animus aeger avaritia facile conversus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus: qui, tametsi a principio, plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrume regem [o]impugnaverat; tamen, magnitudine pecuniae, a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primum tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existumans, sese aliquid interim Romae pretio, aut gratia effecturum: [p]postea vero quam participem negotii Scaurum acceperat; in maxumam spem adductus recuperandae pacis, statuit cum eis de omnibus pactionibus praesens agere. Ceterum interea, [q]fidei caussa, mittitur a consule Sextius quaestor in oppidum Jugurthae [r]Vagam; cujus rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat; quoniam [s]deditionis mora induciae [t]agitabantur. Igitur rex, uti

its form, and lying southwesterly and west from the southern part of Italy.

n *Capit.* In some editions *cepit.*

o *Impugnaverat.* This is doubtless the true reading, though in some editions we find *impugnaverit.*

p *Postea vero quam.* By a figure called tmesis, for *postea quam vero.*

q *Fidei causa.* An elliptical sentence for *fidei faciundæ causa,* scil. *apud Jugurtham.*

r *Vagam.* This city, sometimes called *Vacca,* was the most celebrated mart of the whole kingdom.

s *Deditionis mora. Per moram quam faciebat deditio, pendente deditione,* vel, *donec perficerctur deditio;* till the surrender should be completed.

t *Agitabantur.* The frequentative for the simple verb. It will be unnecessary hereafter to repeat this observation.

constituerat, in castra venit; ac pauca, praesenti consilio, locutus de invidia facti, atque in deditionem [u]uti acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit: dein postero die, quasi per [v]saturam exquisitis sententiis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed, uti pro consilio imperatum, elephanti triginta, pecus atque equi multi, cum [w]parvo argenti pondere quaestori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam [x]ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

XXX. POSTQUAM res in Africa gestas, quoque modo actae forent, fama divulgavit, Romae per omnis locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari: apud plebem gravis invidia: Patres [y]probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum consulis subverterent, parum constabat. Ac maxume eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiae ferebatur, a vero, bono impediebat. At C. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingenii et odio potentiae nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senati, concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari: monere, ne rempublicam, ne libertatem suam desererent: multa superba, crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere: pror-

[u] *Uti acciperetur.* That he might be admitted.

[v] *Saturam.* This word is properly an adjective, *lancem* being understood. The *lanx satura* literally signifies the platter or charger annually filled with all sorts of fruits, and offered to the gods, as the *primitiæ*, or first fruits of the season; and from this medley, is here figuratively employed to express a confused, indistinct, and promiscuous collecting of the votes; and may be translated, *by the lump.*

[w] *Parvo.* In some editions we meet with *non parvo,* which does not accord with Sallust's meaning.

[x] *Ad magistratus rogandos.* The consul presided at the election, and asked the people to give their votes, *suffragia rogabat:* hence *ad rogandos magistratus,* signifies to hold an election for magistrates.

[y] *Probarentne.* Before this word, some editions have *soliciti erant;* the sense however is complete without these additional words.

sus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed, quoniam ea tempestate [z]Memmii facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existumavi, unam ex tam multis orationem [a]perscribere; [b]ac potissumum, quae in concione, post reditum Bestiae, hujuscemodi verbis disseruit.

XXXI. "MULTA dehortantur a vobis, [c]Quirites, ni studium reipublicae omnia superet; opes factionis, vestra patientia, jus nullum, ac maxume, quod innocentiae plus periculi, quam honoris, est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis xv. quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum; quam foede quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores; ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque secordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem, obnoxiis inimicis, exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis, quibus decet terrori esse. Sed, quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit: certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente tradita est, experiar: verum id frustra, an ob rem faciam, in vestra manu situm, Quirites. Neque ego hortor, quod saepe majores vestri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil [d]secessione opus: necesse est, suomet ipsi more praecipites eant. Occiso Tiberio Gracco, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem

[z] *Memmii.* In some editions *Romæ* is inserted before *Memmii.*

[a] *Perscribere.* To transcribe, to copy out.

[b] *Ac potissumum quæ.* An elliptical sentence, for *ac potissimum perscribam*, or, *perscribere velim quæ verba.*

[c] *Quirites.* The Romans were so called either from *quiris*, a Sabine word signifying a spear; or rather the name of *Quirinus* was assumed by Romulus for himself, and the name of *Quirites* for the people, in order to merge the ancient names of Romans and Sabines in one general denomination, and they were borrowed from *Cures*, the chief city of the Sabines.

[d] *Secessione.* The people, stimulated by oppression, had sometimes separated from the nobility.

Romanam [e]quaestiones habitae sunt: post C. Gracci et M. Fulvii caedem, item multi vestri ordinis in carcere necati sunt: utriusque cladis non lex, verum [f]lubido eorum finem fecit. Sed sane fuerit regni [g]paratio, plebi [h]sua restituere: quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci [i]nequitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini, aerarium expilari; reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere; penes eosdem et summam gloriam, et maxumas divitias esse: tamen haec talia facinora impune suscepisse, parum habuere: itaque postremo leges, majestas vestra, divina et humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui fecere, pudet aut poenitet: sed incedunt [k]per ora vestra magnifice, sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos [l]ostentantes: perinde quasi honori, non praedae habeant. Servi aere parati imperia injusta dominorum non perferunt: vos, Quirites, imperio nati, aequo animo servitutem toleratis. At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavere? homines sceleratissumi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissumi, îdemque superbissumi; quîs fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quaestui sunt. Pars eorum [m]occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quaestiones injustas, plerique caedem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent. Ita

e *Quæstiones.* In some editions *quæstiones graves,* severe prosecutions.

f *Lubido.* Caprice.

g *Paratio.* In some editions *reparatio.*

h *Sua.* *Jura* being understood: in some editions it is expressed.

i *Nequitur.* It appears from hence, that this verb was anciently used in the passive voice.

k *Per ora vestra.* Before your faces.

l *Ostentantes* Displaying, making a parade of.

m *Occidisse.* The infinitive used as a substantive. Instances of this may be found afterwards in the same and following pages, and are frequent in all authors.

quam quisque [n]pessume fecit, [n]tam maxume tutus est: metum a scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transtulere; quos omnis eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coëgit: sed haec inter bonos amicitia est, inter malos factio. Quod si [o]tam libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt; profecto neque res publica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur, et beneficia vestra penes optumos, non audacissumos, forent. Majores vestri, parandi juris et majestatis constituendae gratia, bis, per secessionem, armati [p]Aventinum occupavere: vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, non summa ope nitemini? atque eo vehementius, [q]quod majus dedecus est, parta amittere, quam omnino non paravisse? Dicet aliquis, Quid igitur censes? vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rempublicam: non manu, neque vi, quod magis [r]fecisse, quam illis accidisse indignum; verum quaestionibus et indicio ipsius Jugurthae: qui si deditICIus est, profecto jussis vestris obediens erit: sin ea contemnit, scilicet existumabitis, qualis illa pax, aut deditio, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumae divitiae, in rempublicam damna, dedecora pervenerint. Nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et illa, quam haec tempora, magis placent, cum regna, provinciae, leges, jura, judicia, bella, paces, pos-

n *Pessume*, &c. These adverbs are superlatives; but according to the idiom of our language must be translated as comparatives.

o *Tam*. In other editions *vos tam;* which, in order emphatically to mark the opposition, I should in this case prefer.

p *Aventinum*. *Montem* understood. Mount Aventine was one of the seven hills on which Rome was built.

q *Quod*. In other editions *quo*, which, as contrasted with *eo*, I should prefer.

r *Fecisse*. In some editions *vos fecisse*, which, as *vos* will be then contrasted with *illis*, appears preferable.

tremo divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est, populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere: nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum recusare audebat? Atque ego, tamen etsi viro flagitiosissumum existumo impune injuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissumis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, aequo animo paterer, nisi misericordia in perniciem [s]casura esset. Nam et illis, [t]quantum importunitatis habent, parum est, impune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur: et vobis aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, cum intellegetis, aut serviundum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem, aut concordiae quae spes? dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi injurias, vos prohibere: postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam divorsis mentibus pax, aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque, ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non [u]peculatus aerarii factus est, neque per vim sociis ereptae pecuniae: quae quamquam gravia, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrumo prodita senati auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum: domi militiaeque respublica venalis fuit. Quae nisi quaesita erunt, ni vindicatum in noxios, quid reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obedientes vivamus? nam impune quae libet facere, id est [v]regem esse. Neque ego, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis civis vestros perperam, quam recte fecisse;

[s] *Casura esset*, &c. Would tend to your destruction.

[t] *Quantum importunitatis.* So unreasonable or extravagant are their demands. *Quantum* is here used for *tantum*, as is sometimes *quæ* for *ea*.

[u] *Peculatus ærarii.* No embezzlement of the public money has been committed.

[v] *Regem.* Here taken in a bad sense, and signifying tyrant.

sed ne, ignoscendo malis, bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc in republica multo praestat beneficii quam maleficii immemorem esse: bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi neglegas; at malus improbior. Ad hoc, si injuriae non sint, haud saepe auxilii egeas."

XXXII. HAEC atque alia hujuscemodi saepe dicundo, Memmius populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum praetor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur, [w]interposita fide publica, [x]Romam duceret; quo facilius indicio regis, Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniae captae arcessebant, delicta patefierent. Dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia relicti a Bestia exercitui praeerant, secuti morem imperatoris, plurima et flagitiosissuma facinora fecere. Fuere qui, auro corrupti, elephantos Jugurthae traderent: alii perfugas [y]vendere: pars ex [z]pacatis praedas agebant: tanta vis avaritiae in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaserat. At Cassius, perlata [a]rogatione a C. Memmio, ac perculsa omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur; ei timido, et ex [b]conscientia diffidenti rebus suis, persuadet, " [c]quo se populo Romano dedidisset, ne vim, quam misericordiam, experiri mallet." Privatim praeterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris, quam publicam ducebat: talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio.

w *Interposita*, &c. Having pledged the public faith for the security of his person.

x *Romam*, &c. In this sentence *eumque* or *ut* must be understood before *interposita*: the first is expressed in some editions.

y *Vendere*. In some editions *venderent*: in that case *qui* must be understood after *alii*.

z *Pacatis* *Provinciis* or *regionibus* being understood.

a *Rogatione*. The bill; so called, because the people were asked whether it was their pleasure to pass it.

b *Conscientia*. A consciousness of guilt.

c *Quo*. Is here put for *quoniam*, which is the reading in other editions.

XXXIII. IGITUR Jugurtha, contra decus regium, [d]cultu quam maxume miserabili, cum Cassio Romam venit: ac, tamen etsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta gesserat, C. Baebium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cujus impudentia contra jus et injurias omnis munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advocata concione; quamquam regi infesta plebes erat, et pars in [e]vincula duci jubebat, pars, ni socios sceleris aperiret, more majorum, de hoste supplicium sumi; dignitati, quam irae magis consulens, sedare motus, et animos mollire, postremo confirmare, fidem publicam [f]per sese inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium coepit, producto Jugurtha, verba facit, Romae Numidiaeque facinora ejus memorat, scelera in patrem, fratresque ostendit: "quibus juvantibus, quibusque ministris egerit, quamquam intellegat populus Romanus; tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere: si [g]vera aperiret, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam: sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore; sese suasque spes corrupturum."

XXXIV. DEIN, ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Baebius tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere jubet: ac, tamen etsi multitudo, quae in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, voltu, saepe impetu atque aliis omnibus, quae ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex con-

[d] *Cultu*, &c. In as sorry a plight as possible, that he might excite compassion. This was the practice of all accused persons among the Romans.

[e] *Vincula.* In the plural this word signifies a prison; in the singular a chain or band.

[f] *Per sese.* As far as in him lay, so far as depended on him.

[g] *Vera.* In other editions *verum.*

cione [h]discessit; Jugurthae Bestiaeque et ceteris, quos illa quaestio exagitabat, animi augescunt.

XXXV. EA erat tempestate Romae Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulussae filius, Masinissae nepos: qui, quia, in dissensione regum, Jugurthae advorsus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proxumo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissae sit, Jugurtham ob scelera [i]invidia cum metu urgueat; regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat. Avidus consul belli gerundi, [k]movere quam senescere omnia malebat: ipsi provincia Numidia; Minucio [l]Macedonia evenerat. Quae postquam Massiva agitare coepit, neque Jugurthae in amicis satis praesidii est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et [m]timor impediebat; Bomilcari, [n]proxumo ac maxume fido sibi, imperat, "pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivae paret, ac [o]maxume occulte; sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat." Bomilcar mature regis mandata exsequitur: et, per homines talis negotii artifices, itinera egressusque ejus, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat: deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad caedem parati, [p]paullo inconsultius Massivam adgreditur, illum obtruncat: sed ipse deprehensus, multis hor-

[h] *Discessit.* In some editions *discedit.*

[i] *Invidia cum metu.* For *invidia et metu.*

[k] *Movere.* In some editions *moveri.*

[l] *Macedonia.* The country of Alexander the Great, having Thrace on the east, Illyricum on the west, Dardania on the north, and Thessaly on the south.

[m] *Timor.* In some editions *timor animi.*

[n] *Proxumo.* His most intimate friend.

[o] *Maxume occulte.* Privately by all means, if possible.

[p] *Paullo inconsultius.* A little too rashly.

tantibus, et inprimis Albino consule, [q]indicium profitetur. [r]Fit reus magis ex aequo bonoque, quam ex jure gentium, Bomilcar, comes ejus, qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha manifestus tanti sceleris, non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam [s]animum advortit, supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquam [t]in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta [u]vades dederat; regno magis, quam vadibus consulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit, veritus, ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumtum foret. Et ipse paucis diebus [v]profectus est, jussus ab senatu Italia decedere. Sed, postquam Roma egressus est, fertur saepe eo tacitus respiciens, postremo dixisse, URBEM VENALEM ET MATURE PERITURAM, SI EMPTOREM INVENERIT.

XXXVI. INTERIM Albinus, renovato bello, commeatum, stipendium, alia, quae militibus usui forent, [w]maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis, aut deditione, aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia, et alias, deinde alias morae caussas facere: polliceri deditionem, ac deinde metum simulare: instanti cedere, et paullo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo, modo pacis mora, consulem ludificare. Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii regis existumarent, neque ex tanta

[q] *Indicium profitetur.* Makes a discovery.

[r] *Fit reus magis ex æquo.* *Æquum* denotes what is just in itself; *bonum*, what is conducive to public utility.

[s] *Animum advortit.* An archaism for *animadvertit.*

[t] *In priore actione.* In the former part of the process.

[u] *Vades.* Securities or Bail, so called in a criminal action; in a civil suit, they were called *prædes.*

[v] *Profectus est.* In some editions *eodem profectus,* &c.

[w] *Maturat.* Some editions have *mature.*

properantia tam facile tractum bellum secordia magis, quam dolo, crederent. Sed postquam, dilapso tempore, comitiorum dies adventabat, Albinus, Aulo fratre in castris pro praetore relicto, Romam decessit.

XXXVII. EA tempestate Romae seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter respublica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistentibus collegis, continuare magistratum nitebantur: quae dissensio totius anni comitia impediebat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem [x]pro praetore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiundi belli, aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniae capiundae, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat; magnis itineribus, hieme aspera, pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquam et saevitia temporis, et opportunitate loci, neque capi, neque obsideri poterat: (nam circum murum, situm in praerupti montis extremo, planicies limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat) tamen, aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine caecus, [y]vineas agere, [z]aggerem jacere, alia, quae incepto usui forent, properare.

XXXVIII. AT Jugurtha, cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati, subdolus augere amentiam: missitare supplicantis legatos: ipse, quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti, relicto

x *Pro prætore.* In some editions *proprætorem,* the compound word being declined.

y *Vineas.* In some editions *cæcus, ob thesauros, oppidi potiendi, vineas,* &c.

z *Aggerem.* *Aggeres* were mounts or banks of earth, secured by timbers, and raised to the height of the walls, or to a greater height. They were sometimes fixed, sometimes moveable; and were designed as stations for soldiers to annoy the besieged, till the army should undermine the wall, or beat it down with engines.

Suthule, in abditas regiones sese, veluti cedentem, [a]insequeretur. Interea per homines callidos die noctuque exercitum tentabat: centuriones ducesque [b]turmarum, partim uti transfugerent, [corrumpere;] alii, signo dato, locum uti desererent: ita delicta occultiora fore. Quae postquam ex sententia [c]instruit, intempesta nocte, de improviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, tumultu perculsi insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare; trepidare omnibus locis: vis magna hostium; coelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum; [d]periculum anceps: postremo fugere, an manere, tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paullo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una [e]Ligurum, cum duabus turmis [f]Thracum, et paucis gregariis militibus, transiere ad regem: et [g]centurio primi pili

[a] *Insequeretur.* After this word is introduced in some editions an entire sentence. *Ita delicta occultiora fuere.* This sentence, with the variation of *fore* for *fuere* in this edition, follows *desererent.*

[b] *Turmarum.* A *turma* or troop consisted of thirty horse.

[c] *Instruit.* In some editions *instruxit.*

[d] *Periculum anceps.* Double danger, danger on all hands.

[e] *Ligurum.* Of Ligurians. The republic of Genoa was formerly called *Liguria.*

[f] *Thracum.* Of Thracians. Thrace is now called Romania.

[g] *Centurio primi pili.* A Roman legion consisted of ten cohorts, each cohort of three manipuli, and every manipulus of two centuries, each commanded by a centurion. The number of men in a century was not uniformly the same. The Roman troops were usually drawn up in three lines; those in the first rank were called *hastati,* those in the second *principes,* and those in the third *triarii,* from their position. The *triarii* were old and tried soldiers, and were reckoned more honourable than the rest. The centurion of the first century of the first maniple of the *triarii* was called *centurio primi pili,* or *primi ordinis,* or *primus pilus, primipilus, primopilus,* or *primus centurio,* presided over all the other centurions, and had the charge of the eagle, or chief standard of the legion.

tertiae legionis, per munitionem, quam, uti defenderet, acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit: eaque Numidae cuncti irrupere. Nostri foeda fuga, plerique abjectis armis, proxumum collem occupavere. Nox atque praeda castrorum hostes, [h]quo minus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt. Dein Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit: "tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame, ferro clausum tenet, tamen se humanarum rerum memorem, si secum foedus faceret, incolumis omnis [i]sub jugum missurum: praeterea, uti diebus decem Numidia decederet." Quae quamquam gravia et flagitii plena erant, tamen, quia mortis metu [k]mutabant, sicuti regi libuerat, pax convenit.

XXXIX. SED, ubi ea Romae comperta sunt, metus atque moeror civitatem invasere: pars dolere pro gloria imperii: pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati: Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxume qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius, quam manu, salutem [l]quaesiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam, ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de foedere consulebat: et tamen interim exercitui [m]supplementum scribere: ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia arcessere: denique modis omnibus festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit, SUO ATQUE POPULI INJUSSU NULLUM POTUISSE FOEDUS FIERI. Con-

h *Quo minus*, &c. From making a proper use of their victory.

i *Sub jugum*, &c. Two spears stuck in the ground, crossed by another at the top like a gallows, were called *jugum*. Under this the vanquished passed disarmed by way of ignominy, and in token of subjection.

k *Mutabant*. They exchanged. In some editions *nutabant*, they wavered, fluctuated, were irresolute.

l *Quæsiverat*. In some editions *quæsiverit*.

m *Supplementum*. Recruits; literally a supply.

sul impeditus a tribunis plebis ne, quas paraverat copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur: nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus, in provincia hiemabat. Postquam eo venit; quamquam persequi Jugurtham et mederi fraternae invidiae [n]animus ardebat; cognitis militibus, quos praeter fugam, [o]soluto imperio, licentia atque lascivia corruperat, [p]ex copia rerum statuit, nihil sibi agitandum.

XL. INTEREA Romae C. Mamilius Limetanus, tribunus plebis, rogationem ad populum promulgat, "uti quaereretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta [q]neglegisset; quique ab eo in legationibus, aut imperiis pecunias accepissent; qui elephantos, quique perfugas tradidissent; item qui de pace, aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent." Huic rogationi partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur; occulte per amicos, ac maxume per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes, incredibile memoratu est, quam intenta fuerit, quantaque vi rogationem jusserit, decreverit, voluerit; magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura reipublicae: [r]tanta lubido in partibus. Igitur, ceteris metu perculsis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiae supra [s]docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis, et suorum fugam, [t]trepida etiam tum civitate, cum ex [u]Ma-

[n] *Animus.* In some editions *animo.*
[o] *Soluto imperio.* Under a lax discipline.
[p] *Ex copia,* &c. Considering all circumstances.
[q] *Neglegisset.* An archaism for *neglexisset.*
[r] *Tanta lubido,* &c. Such was the violence of party spirit.
[s] *Docuimus.* In some editions *memoravimus.*
[t] *Trepida etiam,* &c. The city being not yet free from panic.
[u] *Mamilia.* In some editions *mamiliana.*

milia rogatione tres [v]quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat, uti ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed [w]quaestio exercita aspere violenterque ex rumore, et lubidine plebis: ut saepe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

XLI. CETERUM mos partium popularium et senati factionum, ac deinde omnium malarum artium, paucis ante annis Romae ortus, otio et abundantia earum rerum, quae prima mortales ducunt. Nam, ante Carthaginem deletam, populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rempublicam tractabant: neque gloriae, neque dominationis certamen inter civis erat: metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed, ubi illa formido mentibus discessit; scilicet ea, quae secundae res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Ita, quod in advorsis rebus optaverant, otium, postquam adepti sunt, [x]asperius acerbiusque fuit. Namque coepere nobilitas [y]dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vertere: sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt; respublica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata. Ceterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat: plebis vis [z]soluta atque [a]dispersa, in multitudine, minus poterat: paucorum

v *Quæsitores.* Commissioners to inquire into the charges, &c.

w *Quæstio exercita.* The commission was executed; the inquiry was conducted. In other editions *quæstione exercita.*

x *Asperius acerbiusque fuit.* Produced more asperity and bitterness among the citizens.

y *Dignitatem,* &c. Various words in the English language must be employed to express the various shades of character denoted by the general Latin term *libido.* In this sentence, as connected with *dignitatem,* it has one application, and, as attached to *libertatem,* another. *Dignitatem in lubidinem vertere,* to convert their high rank into a mean, or instrument for the gratification of their passions; *libertatem in lubidinem vertere,* to convert their liberty into licentiousness.

z *Soluta.* Loose, uncemented, not bound or compacted by a common interest.

a *Dispersa,* &c. In some editions *dispersa in multitudine,*

arbitrio belli domique agitabatur: penes eosdem aerarium, provinciae, magistratus, gloriae triumphique erant: populus [b]militia atque inopia urguebatur; praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes, aut parvi liberi militum, ut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia, sine modo modestiaque invadere, polluere et vastare omnia; [c]nihil pensi, neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa praecipitavit. Nam ubi primum [ex nobilitate] reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustae potentiae anteponerent; moveri civitas, et [d]permixtio civilis, quasi discessio terrae, oriri coepit.

XLII. NAM postquam Tiberius et C. Graccus, quorum majores Punico atque aliis bellis multum reipublicae addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem, et paucorum scelera patefacere coepere; nobilitas noxia, atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Graccorum actionibus obviam ierat; et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos [e]eadem ingredientem Caium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum [f]coloniis

which would signify, divided among many. But this reading, says Cortius, is contradicted by all the manuscripts. *In multitudine* will signify notwithstanding their numbers: and then *dispersa* must be detached from *multitudine*, and connected with *soluta*.

[b] *Militia*. Were oppressed with military service, and with penury.

[c] *Nihil pensi*, &c. They regarded nothing, stuck at nothing, and held nothing sacred.

[d] *Permixtio civilis*, &c. A civil commotion, like a parting or disjointing of the earth. In other editions *dissentio civilis quasi permixtio*.

[e] *Eadem ingredientem*. Commencing the same course, pursuing the same measures.

[f] *Coloniis*, &c. The citizens of Rome, deriving no support from commercial pursuits, and but little from the exercise of industry, because very few of the mechanic arts were practised

deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco ferro [g]necaverant. Et sane Graccis, cupidine victoriae, haud satis moderatus animus fuit. Sed [h]bono vinci satius est, quam malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur ea victoria nobilitas ex lubidine sua usa, multos mortalis ferro aut fuga exstinxit; plusque in reliquum sibi timoris, quam potentiae, addidit. Quae res plerumque magnas civitatis pessum dedit; dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo, et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed, de studiis partium et omnibus civitatis moribus si singulatim, aut pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus, quam res, maturius [i]deserat. Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

XLIII. POST Auli foedus, exercitusque nostri foedam fugam, Q. Metellus et M. Silanus, consules designati, [provincias] inter se [k]paraverunt: Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro, et quamquam [l]advorso populi partium, fama tamen [m]aequabili et inviolata. Is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi [n]cum collega ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur

there, were, many of them, mere pensioners on the bounty of the state. Commissioners were therefore appointed, from time to time, to conduct colonies of them to settle on a portion of the conquered territories. By this means a provision was made for the needy citizens, and an additional security provided against insurrection and rebellion.

g *Necaverant.* Had murdered or assassinated, which is the proper meaning of the term.

h *Bono.* It is better for a good man, &c.

i *Deserat.* In some editions *deficeret.*

k *Paraverunt.* In some editions *partiverant.*

l *Advorso,* &c. *Advorso* is here used as a substantive, and followed by the genitive case. In some editions *advorso populi partibus.*

m *Æquabili.* Uniform and unimpeachable. Quasi dixerat, *æquabiliter inviolata,* scil. *inter nobiles & plebem.*

n *Cum collega.* Common to him and his colleague.

diffidens veteri exercitui, milites scribere, praesidia undique arcessere: arma, tela, equos, cetera instrumenta militiae parare: ad hoc commeatum affatim: denique omnia, quae [o]bello vario et multarum rerum egenti usui esse solent. Ceterum ad ea patranda senati auctoritate socii nomenque Latinum, reges ultro auxilia [p]mittere: postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque, ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, cum propter bonas artis, tum maxume, quod advorsum divitias animum invictum gerebat; et avaritia magistratuum ante id tempus in Numidia nostrae opes contusae, hostiumque auctae erant.

XLIV. SED, ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur [q]Sp. Albini pro consule, iners, imbellis, neque periculi, neque laboris patiens, lingua, quam manu, promtior, praedator ex sociis, et ipse praeda hostium, sine [r]imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis, quam ex copia militum auxilii, aut spei bonae accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et [s]aestivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, et exspectatione eventi civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum adtingere, quam, majorum disciplina, milites laborare coëgisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade perculsus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum temporis aestivorum [t]in imperio fuit, plerumque milites stativis castris habebat; nisi cum

o *Bello vario.* In some editions *in bello vario,* less elegantly. *Varium bellum* means a complicated war.

p *Mittere.* In some editions *mittendo.*

q *Sp. Albini.* In some other editions *a Sp. Albino.*

r *Imperio.* *Sine imperio* denotes here, without discipline.

s *Æstivorum.* Of the summer campaign.

t *In imperio fuit.* *In imperio esse* was anciently used for *imperium habere, imperare;* so *cum telo esse* for *telum habere.*

odos, aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque more militari vigiliae [u]deducebantur: uti cuique lubebat, ab signis aberat. [v]Lixae permixti cum militibus [w]die noctuque vagabantur, et palantes agros vastare, [x]villas expugnare, pecoris et [y]mancipiorum praedas certantes agere; eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio, et aliis talibus: praeterea, frumentum publice datum vendere, [z]panem in dies mercari: postremo, quaecumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviae luxuriaeque probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, et alia amplius.

XLV. SED in ea difficultate Metellum non minus, quam in rebus hostilibus, magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior; tanta temperantia inter [a]ambitionem saevitiamque moderatum. Namque edicto [b]primum adjumenta ignaviae sustulisse, " ne quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet; ne lixae exercitum sequerentur; ne miles gregarius in castris, neve in [c]ag-

u *Deducebantur.* May be here used for *diducebantur*, were not distributed into their different stations; or it may perhaps signify, were not led off to their posts, to relieve others.

v *Lixæ.* Soldiers' servants, employed as washers, cooks, bakers; or buffoons, who entertained and diverted the officers, &c. in the army.

w *Die.* In some editions *diu.*

x *Villas expugnare.* They stormed gentlemen's country seats.

y *Mancipiorum.* Slaves were so called, *quia manu capti*, because taken in war. *Mancipium*, like *servitium, scortum, prostibulum*, on account of the meanness of the condition, followed the gender of its termination.

z *Panem.* The Roman soldiers were furnished with corn, which they were to grind, sift and prepare for bread by their own personal labour, and afterwards to bake it themselves.

a *Ambitionem.* Between *currying favour* by a lax discipline and severity.

b *Primum.* In some editions *primo.*

c *Agmine.* *Agmen* signifies a body of men on a march, and hence taken for a march.

mine servum aut jumentum haberet:" ceteris [d]arte modum statuisse: praeterea [e]transvorsis itineribus quotidie castra movere; juxta, ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossa munire, vigilias crebras ponere, et ipse cum legatis [f]circumire: item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quispiam ordine egrederetur, uti cum signis [g]frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis, quam vindicando, exercitum brevi [h]confirmavit.

XLVI. INTEREA Jugurtha, ubi, quae Metellus agebat, ex nunciis accepit; simul de [i]innocentia ejus certior Romae factus, diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum [k]suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum. Itaque legatos alium [l]ab alio divorsos adgreditur; ac, paullatim [m]tentando, postquam opportunos cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet, "uti Jugurtham maxume vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent:" ceterum palam, quae ex voluntate forent, regi nunciari jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus, intento atque infesto exercitu, in

[d] *Arte.* An archaism for *arcte.* He set strict bounds to the rest, he confined them within due bounds by strict regulations.

[e] *Transvorsis,* &c. By marches across the country.

[f] *Circumire.* He went the rounds.

[g] *Frequentes.* In close order.

[h] *Confirmavit.* He infused energy into the army; he restored it to vigour: *firmum reddidit.*

[i] *Innocentia.* His incorruptible integrity.

[k] *Suppliciis.* With suppliant messages. *Supplicia* is sometimes employed to signify a branch of laurel or olive in the hands of ambassadors sent to sue for peace.

[l] *Ab alio alium.* One after another.

[m] *Tentando.* By tampering with them.

Numidiam procedit: ubi, contra belli faciem, tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris: ex oppidis et [n]mapalibus praefecti regis obvii procedebant, parati frumentum dare, [o]commeatum portare, postremo omnia, quae imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere, et insidiis locum [p]tentare. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu, apud primos erat: in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat: in utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortium dispertiverat, uti cum his permixti [q]velites, quacumque accederent, equitatus hostium propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum et militiae erat, uti, absens, an praesens, pacem, an bellum gerens, perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

XLVII. ERAT haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vaga, [r]forum rerum venalium totius regni maxume celebratum; ubi et incolere, et mercari consueve-

[n] *Mapalibus.* Huts, cottages; but here perhaps villages.

[o] *Commeatum portare.* To bring provision, or perhaps to convey or transport the provisions of his army from place to place.

[p] *Tentare.* Either he examined the place to discover an ambush; or *hostes* is understood, and the meaning is, that the enemy sought to find a place proper for an ambuscade. But if the latter meaning be adopted, *tentari* would rather be used, to be governed by *credere*, which is the opinion of Gronovius. The meaning, however, is obvious: for both these modes of explanation ultimately amount to the same thing.

[q] *Velites.* Light-armed troops, who fought in front of the army, or on the wings; so called *a volando*, from vaulting behind the cavalry for the sake of expedition, and leaping from the horses when they approached the enemy.

[r] *Forum*, &c. A mart for buying and selling commodities.

rant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc consul, simul tentandi gratia, si [s]paterent opportunitates loci, praesidium imposuit; praeterea imperavit frumentum, et alia, quae bello usui [t]forent: ratus id, quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et [u]commeatum [juvaturum exercitum] etiam paratis rebus munimento fore. Inter haec negotia Jugurtha impensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare; praeter suam liberorumque vitam, omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, consul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat: regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere, neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

XLVIII. JUGURTHA ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac se suis artibus tentari animadvortit; quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrumum erat, urbs maxuma alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium tentati; coactus rerum necessitudine, statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriae adductus ex opportunitate loci, [v]quas maxumas copias potest omnium generum parat, ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidiae, quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul;

[s] *Paterent.* Should be free for his use, *i.e.* if he should be permitted freely to enjoy the advantages which the place afforded. Other editions have *paterentur*, which will perhaps be generally preferred.

[t] *Forent.* After this word we find in some editions *comportare*, which appears necessary neither to the sense nor to the construction.

[u] *Commeatum.* Must here signify the intercourse they maintained, or the great resort of people to the town. Some will have it *commeatu*, with provision.

[v] *Quas.* In some editions *quam*, which is certainly the common mode of expression in similar cases even in our author.

a quo aberat mons ferme millia passuum xx. [w]tractu pari, [x]vastus ab natura et humano cultu: sed ex eo medio [y]quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertinens, vestitus oleastro ac mirtetis, aliisque generibus arborum, quae [z]humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. Media autem planicies deserta, penuria aquae, praeter [a]flumini propinqua loca: ea [b]consita arbustis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

XLIX. IGITUR in eo colle, quem, [c]transvorso itinere, porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha, [d]extenuata suorum acie, consedit: elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit, eumque edocet, quae ageret: ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu [e]pedites delectos collocat: dein singulas turmas atque manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, " uti memores pristinae virtutis et victoriae seque regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant: cum his certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint: ducem illis, non animum mutatum: quae ab imperatore [f]decuerint, omnia suis provisa; locum superiorem, uti [g]prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consererent: proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato, Romanos in-

w *Tractu pari.* Extending in a course parallel *to the river.*

x *Vastus.* Waste or desolate by nature, and left uncultivated by the industry of man.

y *Quasi collis,* &c. A sort of hill arose, extending *in immensum,* scil. *spatium.*

z *Humi arenoso,* &c. *Solo* understood.

a *Flumini.* In some editions *fluminis.*

b *Consita.* Grown up, overgrown.

c *Transvorso itinere.* Across the line of his march.

d *Extenuata,* &c. Having extended his army into a thin rank.

e *Pedites,* &c. In some editions *& peditibus delectis.*

f *Decuerint.* Scil. *provideri.*

g *Prudentes.* Either those acquainted with the country might contend with strangers to the ground; or those who were aware of, and expected an engagement with persons taken unaware.

vadere: illum diem aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturum, aut maxumarum aerumnarum initium fore." Ad hoc viritim, ut quemque, ob militare facinus, pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, et eum ipsum aliis ostentare: postremo, pro cujusque ingenio, pollicendo, minitando, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare: cum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu [h]conspicitur: primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet, (nam inter virgulta [i]equi Numidaeque consederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, et tamen [k]incerti, quidnam esset; cum natura loci, tum dolo, ipsi atque signa militaria, obscurati) dein, brevi cognitis insidiis, paullisper agmen [l]constitit: ibi [m]commutatis ordinibus, in dextero latere, quod proxumum hostis erat, [n]triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit: [o]inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispertit: equitatum omnem in cornibus locat: ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicuti instruxerat, [p]transvorsis principiis, in planum deducit.

L. SED, ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi animadvortit, veritus ex anni tempore et in-

[h] *Conspicitur.* In some editions *conspicatur*, which must then be taken in a passive sense.

[i] *Equi Numidæque.* The Numidians, both cavalry and infantry: thus *equi virique* signify horsemen and footmen.

[k] *Incerti. Cum cerni non possent,* not clearly to be distinguished, so as to determine what it was. Or thus: *erat aliquid incerti*, &c.

[l] *Constitit.* Some editions have *constituit;* but *constitit* is sometimes taken actively; he halted.

[m] *Commutatis*, &c. Having changed the disposition of his troops.

[n] *Triplicibus*, &c. With three bodies of reserve; with three lines behind his foot to serve as reserves.

[o] *Inter manipulos.* In the vacant spaces between the maniples.

[p] *Transvorsis*, &c. Having turned the front into the flank.

opia aquae, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum [q]praemisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet; existumans, hostis crebro impetu et [r]transvorsis praeliis iter suum remoraturos, et, quoniam armis diffiderent, [s]lassitudinem et sitim militum tentaturos. Dein ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere: Marium [t]post principia habere: ipse cum sinistrae alae equitibus esse, qui in agmine [u]principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli [v]primos suos praetergressum videt, praesidio quasi duûm millium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat; ne forte cedentibus advorsariis receptui, ac post munimento foret: dein, repente signo dato, hostis invadit. Numidae alii postremos caedere; pars a sinistra ac dextera tentare: infensi adesse atque instare: omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare; quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto praelio, ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriundi, aut manum conserendi copia erat. Antea jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicumque Romanorum turba insequi coeperat, non confertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam maxume divorsi. Ita numero priores, si ab persequendo hostis deterrere nequiverant, disjectos ab tergo, aut lateribus circumveniebant: sin opportunior fugae collis, quam campi fuerant, [w]ea vero

q *Præmisit.* In some editions *præmiserat.*

r *Transvorsis,* &c. By attacks on his flanks.

s *Lassitudinem,* &c. Would try the effect of weariness and thirst on his, Metellus's men.

t *Post principia.* Behind the first line.

u *Principes.* The foremost.

v *Primos.* The foremost of his men; those nearest to the mountain, and of course first met by Metellus.

w *Ea.* *Fuga* understood. In some editions *eo.*

consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere; nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

LI. CETERUM facies totius negotii varia, incerta, foeda atque miserabilis: dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi: neque signa, neque ordines observare: ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare: arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permixti: nihil consilio, neque imperio agi: fors omnia regere. Itaque multum [x]die processerat, cum etiam tum eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore et aestu languidis, Metellus ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paullatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit, et cohortis legionarias quatuor advorsum pedites hostium collocat: eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa consederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, "ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostis fugientes vincere: neque illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum, quo [y]cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia sita." Sed [z]ne Jugurtha quidem interea quietus: circumire, hortari, renovare praelium, et ipse cum delectis tentare omnia: subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

LII. Eo modo inter se dùo imperatores, summi viri, certabant; ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus advorsus: Jugurthae alia omnia, praeter milites, opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intellegunt, neque sibi [a]perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, et jam die vesper erat; [b]advorso

x *Die.* For *diei.*

y *Cedentes tenderent.* Elegantly expressed, instead of *quo tenderent si*, or, *cum cederent;* to which they might repair, if they should retreat or give way.

z *Ne.* Must be here joined to *quidem.* In some editions *nec.*

a *Perfugium.* In some editions *profugium.*

b *Advorso colle.* Up the hill; *secundo colle,* down the hill.

colle, sicuti praeceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco, Numidae fusi fugatique: pauci interiere; plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium praefectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius praetergressus est, paullatim suos in aequum locum deducit: ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo praemissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat: neque remittit, quid [c]ubique hostis ageret, explorare. Postquam Rutilium consedisse jam, et [d]animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Jugurthae praelio clamorem augeri; veritus, ne legatus, cognita re, [e]laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum [f]arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri [g]obficeret, latius porrigit; eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

LIII. ROMANI ex improviso pulveris vim magnam animadvortunt, nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. Et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari: post, ubi aequabilem manere, et, sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque adpropinquare vident, cognita re, properantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum, utrimque magno clamore [h]concurrunt. Numidae tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant; postquam impeditos ramis arborum, atque ita disjectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt: ac plerique, ab-

c *Ubique.* The same as *et ubi;* what the enemy was doing and where.

d *Animo vacuum.* Without, or free from apprehension.

e *Laborantibus suis.* His men when in distress, or when oppressed by numbers.

f *Arte.* An archaism, for *arcte*

g *Obficeret.* An archaism, for *officeret.*

h *Concurrunt.* In some editions *concurritur* taken impersonally.

jectis armis, collis, aut noctis, quae jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quatuor capti, reliqui omnes, numero quadraginta, interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et praelio fessi [i]laetique erant; tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi, neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo, obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu, velut hostes [k]adventare, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul, et tumultum facere: et paene imprudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque praemissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur, pro metu, repente gaudium exortum, milites alius alium laeti adpellant, acta edocent atque audiunt: sua quisque fortia facta ad coelum ferre. Quippe res humanae ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet; advorsae res etiam bonos detractant.

LIV. METELLUS in îsdem castris quatriduo moratus, saucios [l]cum cura reficit, meritos in praeliis more militiae donat, universos in concione laudat, atque agit gratias; hortatur, ad cetera, quae levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro praeda fore. Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium, aut quid agitaret, cum paucisne esset, an exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat: ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis, quam belli culto-

i *Lætique.* In some editions *lassi.*

k *Adventare.* In some editions *adventarent,* which appears preferable: the infinitive after *velut* being rarely, if at all used for the imperfect tense.

l *Cum cura.* Diligently, carefully.

rem. Id ea gratia eveniebat, quod, praeter regios equites, nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem sequitur; quo cujusque animus fert, eo discedunt: neque id flagitium militiae ducitur: [m]ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus ubi videt regis etiam tum animum ferocem; bellum renovari, quod, nisi ex illius lubidine, geri posset; praeterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci, quam suos vincere; statuit non praeliis, neque acie, sed alio more bellum gerundum. Itaque in Numidiae loca opulentissuma pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida, [n]temere munita, aut sine praesidio, capit incenditque, puberes [o]interficit: alia omnia militum [p]praeda esse. Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides; frumentum et alia, quae usui forent, adfatim praebita: ubicumque res postulabat, praesidium impositum. Quae negotia multo magis, quam praelium male pugnatum [ab suis] regem terrebant: quippe [q]cui, spes omnis in fuga sita, sequi cogebatur; et qui [r]sua loca defendere nequiverat, in [r]alienis bellum gerere. Tamen [s]ex copia, quod optumum videbatur, consilium capit: exercitum [t]plerumque in îs-

[m] *Ita se mores*, &c. This custom of abandoning their General, after a defeat, is ascribed to the Israelites in sacred writ; was practised by the Parthians according to Herodian; was common to the Illyrians, it we credit the testimony of Thucydides; and also to the Germans, by the account of Tacitus; and extended to most of the Asiatic nations, if the authority of Herodotus be admitted.

[n] *Temere munita.* Slightly fortified.

[o] *Interficit.* In some editions *interfici jubet.*

[p] *Præda.* In some editions *prædam* governed by *jubet.*

[q] *Cui.* Some editions have *cujus.*

[r] *Sua loca——alienis.* Places of his own choosing; such as suited himself. *Alienis,* scil. *locis.*

[s] *Ex copia.* Considering all circumstances.

[t] *Plerumque.* Is here an adjective agreeing with *exercitum* It is rarely used by other authors in the singular number.

dem locis opperiri jubet; ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantis repente adgreditur: eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur; nemo omnium intactus profugit: et Numidae prius, quam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proxumos collis discedunt.

LV. INTERIM Romae gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus: ut seque et exercitum more majorum gereret; in advorso loco, victor tamen virtute fuisset; hostium agro potiretur; Jugurtham magnificum ex Auli secordia, spem salutis in solitudine, aut fuga coëgisset habere. Itaque senatus OB EA FELICITER ACTA DIS IMMORTALIBUS SUPPLICIA DECERNERE: civitas trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu, laeta agere: fama de Metello praeclara esse. Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare; cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret: meminisse, post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita quo clarior erat, eo magis animi anxius: neque, post insidias Jugurthae, [u]effuso exercitu praedari: ubi frumento, aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu [v]praesidium agitabant: exercitus [w]partim ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis, quam praeda, ager vastabatur. Duobus locis, haud longe [x]inter se, castra faciebant: ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant; ceterum, quo fuga atque formido latius crescerent, divorsi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per collis sequi: tempus, aut locum [y]pugnae quaerere: qua

[u] *Effuso exercitu.* With his army scattered; with his army in disorder.

[v] *Præsidium agitabant.* Formed a convoy, or guard.

[w] *Partim.* In some editions *partem;* but *partim* is often used substantively, and probably was the old accusative.

[x] *Inter se.* *Distantes, distantibus* or *distantia* being understood.

[y] *Pugnæ.* Scil. *opportunum.*

venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere: modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere: postremos in agmine tentare, ac statim in collis regredi; rursus aliis, post aliis minitari: neque praelium facere, neque otium pati; tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

LVI. ROMANUS imperator, ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam, et in ea parte, qua sita erat, arcem regni, nomine Zamam, statuit obpugnare; ratus id, quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique praelium fore. At ille, quae parabantur, a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit; oppidanos hortatur, moenia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia [z]fallere nequibant, firmissumum. Praeterea pollicetur, in tempore semet cum exercitu adfore. Ita compositis rebus, in loca quam maxume occulta discedit, ac post paullo cognoscit, Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum; quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum [a]dilectis equitibus noctu pergit, et jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit: simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur, "uti cohortis ab tergo circumveniant: fortunam praeclari facinoris casum dare: si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu aetatem acturos." Ac, ni Marius [b]signa inferre, atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti, aut magna pars Sic-

z *Fallere nequibant.* Among the Romans deserters were very severely punished, by cutting off their hands, arms, or other members, by beheading, crucifixion, exposure to wild beasts, &c.

a *Dilectis.* *Delectis* is more common in the sense in which the word is here taken, though *dilectis* admits the same meaning.

b *Signa inferre.* To advance.

censium fidem mutavissent: tanta mobilitate sese Numidae [c]agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini paullisper ab rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urguent, paucis amissis, profugi discedunt.

LVII. MARIUS ad Zamam pervenit: id oppidum in campo situm, magis [d]opere, quam natura munitum erat; nullius idoneae rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus, pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus, cuncta moenia exercitu circumvenit: legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret: deinde, signo dato, undique simul clamor ingens oritur: neque ea res Numidas terret; infensi intentique sine tumultu manent: praelium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare; [e]alii succedere, ac murum modo subfodere, modo scalis adgredi: cupere praelium in manibus facere. Contra ea oppidani in proxumos saxa volvere; sudes, pila, praeterea [f]picem sulphure et taeda mixtam [g]ardentia mittere. Sed nec illos, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat: nam plerosque jacula tormentis, aut manu emissa volnerabant; parique periculo, sed fama impari, boni atque ignavi erant.

LVIII. DUM apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improviso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit; remissis, qui in praesidio erant, et omnia magis, quam praelium exspectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi

c *Agunt.* In some editions *sese gerunt*, which is a much more common mode of expression.

d *Opere, quam natura.* By art than nature.

e *Alii.* In other editions *evadere alii, alii succedere*, &c.

f *Picem*, &c. In some editions this sentence is read thus: *sudes, pila præterea pice et sulphure tædam mistam ardentia mittere.*

g *Ardentia.* Is put in the neuter gender, as referring to *sudes, pila, et picem*, things without life.

N 2

quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere, alii arma capere: magna pars volnerati, aut occisi. Ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta, memores nominis Romani, grege facto, locum cepere, paullo, quam alii, editiorem: neque inde maxuma vi depelli quiverunt; sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci [h]in pluribus minus frustrati: sin Numidae propius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere, et eos maxuma vi caedere, fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus, cum acerrume rem gereret, [i]clamorem hostilem ab tergo accepit: dein, converso equo, animadvortit, fugam [k]ad se vorsum fieri; quae res indicabat popularis esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere mittit, ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum; eumque, lacrumans, per amicitiam perque rempublicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostis inultos abire sinat: ille brevi mandata efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, cum alii super vallum praecipitarentur, alii in [l]angustiis ipsi sibi properantes obficerent, multis amissis, in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur.

LIX. IGITUR postero die, prius, quam ad obpugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare jubet: portas et proxuma loca tribunis dispertit: deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum, atque, ut superiore die, murum adgreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit: qui in [m]proxumo lo-

h *In pluribus.* In throwing their weapons among many.
i *Clamorem.* In some editions *clamorem et tumultum,* &c.
k *Ad se vorsum.* By tmesis for *advorsum se*
l *Angustiis.* In the narrow passages of the gates.
m *Proxumo.* The sentence may be supplied thus: *in loco hostibus proximo.* Some editions have *primo.*

cati fuerant, paullisper territi perturbantur; reliqui cito subveniunt. Neque diutius Numidae resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu [n]facerent: quibus illi freti, non, ut equestri praelio solet, sequi, dein cedere; sed [o]advorsis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem; ita expeditis peditibus suis, hostis paene [p]victos dare.

LX. EODEM tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus, aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrume niti; neque alius in alio magis, quam in sese spem habere: pariter oppidani agere; obpugnare, aut parare omnibus locis: avidius alteri alteros sauciare, quam semet tegere: clamor permixtus hortatione, laetitia, gemitu; item strepitus armorum ad coelum ferri: tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui moenia defensabant, ubi hostes paullulum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti praelium equestre prospectabant: eos, uti quaeque Jugurthae res erant, laetos modo, modo pavidos animadvorteres: ac, sicuti audiri a suis, aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut [q]niti corporibus, et huc, illuc, quasi vitabundi, aut jacientes tela, [r]agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est (nam is in ea parte curabat) consulto lenius agere, ac diffidentiam rei simulare: pati Numidas

n *Facerent.* The imperfect used for the pluperfect; a manner of writing not unusual in other authors, when, as here, what is usual or customary is meant to be expressed.

o *Advorsis equis.* With their horses breast to breast.

p *Victos dare.* They delivered up the enemy almost conquered, to their own light-armed footmen; or, rather, they almost conquered their enemies by means of their light-armed footmen: *victum dare* being used for *vincere, defensum dare* for *defendere, submersum dare* for *submergere.*

q *Niti.* Wriggled

r *Agitare.* Tossed their bodies. This word, taken absolutely in the last chapter and applied to cavalry, signifies to patrol.

sine tumultu regis praelium visere. Ita illis [s]studio suorum adstrictis, repente magna vi murum adgreditur: et jam scalis egressi milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia praeterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primo resistere: deinde, ubi [t]unae atque alterae scalae comminutae, qui supersteterant, adflicti sunt; ceteri, [u]quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars confecti volneribus abeunt. Denique utrimque praelium nox diremit.

LXI. METELLUS, postquam videt frustra inceptum, neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis, aut [v]suo loco pugnam facere, et jam aestatem exactam esse, ab Zama discedit; et in his urbibus, quae ad se defecerant, satisque munitae [w]loco, aut moenibus erant, praesidia imponit. [x]Ceterum exercitum in provinciam [quae proxuma est Numidiae] hiemandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus, ex aliorum more, quieti, aut luxuriae concedit: sed, quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere, et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romae cum Jugurtha fuerat, et inde, vadibus datis, clam Massivae de nece judicium fugerat, quod ei [y]per maxumam amicitiam, maxuma copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus adgreditur; ac primo efficit, uti ad se colloquendi gratia occul-

[s] *Studio suorum adstrictis.* Engrossed by an anxious concern for their own men.

[t] *Unæ.* This word is used in the plural, when joined to a noun that wants the singular; but *scalæ* is here used in the plural, though the singular would have expressed the meaning.

[u] *Quoquo.* In some editions *quo quisque modo.*

[v] *Suo loco.* *Loco sibi opportuno*

[w] *Loco.* By situation, or by nature.

[x] *Ceterum.* Is here an adjective. It is rarely so used in the singular.

[y] *Per.* Here taken for *propter.*

tus veniat: dein fide data, "si Jugurtham vivum aut necatum tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus impunitatem, et sua omnia concederet," facile Numidae persuadet, cum ingenio infido, tum metuenti, ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per conditiones ad supplicium traderetur.

LXII. Is, ubi primum opportunum, Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit; monet atque lacrumans obtestatur, "uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum, optume merenti, provideat: omnibus praeliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortalis captos aut occisos, regni opes comminutas esse: satis saepe jam et virtutem militum, et fortunam tentatam: caveret, ne, illo cunctante, Numidae sibi consulant." His atque talibus aliis ad deditionem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati: "[z]Jugurtham imperata facturum, ac [a]sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere." Metellus propere cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis arcessiri jubet: eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum, ex consilii decreto, per legatos Jugurthae imperat argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnis, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quae postquam sine mora facta sunt, jubet omnes perfugas vinctos adduci: eorum magna pars, ut jussum erat, adducti; pauci, cum primum deditio coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauritaniam abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus, cum ipse ad [b]imperandum [c]Tisidium vocaretur,

[z] *Jugurtham*, &c. In some editions *qui Jugurtham imperata facturum dicerent.* In this edition *qui dicerent* are understood.

[a] *Sine ulla pactione.* Unconditionally, at discretion.

[b] *Imperandum.* The gerund is here used in the passive signification; to receive orders.

[c] *Tisidium.* Situated between Utica and Carthage.

rursus coepit flectere animum suum, et ex mala conscientia digna timere. Denique multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis; cum modo taedio rerum advorsarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret; multis magnisque praesidiis nequidquam perditis, de integro bellum sumit. Romae senatus de provinciis consultus Numidiam Metello decreverat.

LXIII. PER idem tempus Uticae forte C. Mario per hostias dîs supplicante, "magna atque mirabilia portendi" haruspex dixerat: "proinde, quae animo [d]agitabat, fretus dîs ageret; fortunam quam saepissume experiretur: cuncta [e]prospera eventura." At illum jam antea consulatus ingens cupido exagitabat: ad quem capiundum, praeter vetustatem familiae, alia omnia abunde erant; industria, probitas, militiae magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubidinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriae avidus. Sed is natus et omnem pueritiam [f]Arpini altus, ubi primum aetas militiae patiens fuit, [g]stipendiis faciundis, non Graeca facundia, neque [h]urbanis munditiis sese exercuit: ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facile notus per omnis tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit; semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, uti ampliore,

[d] *Agitabat.* Meditated, pondered, revolved.

[e] *Prospera.* In some editions *prospere.*

[f] *Arpini.* A city of the Hirpini, a tribe of the Samnites, the birth-place of Cicero also; now a poor village, still called Arpino. Samnium is now called Abruzzo.

[g] *Stipendiis faciundis.* In actual service.

[h] *Urbanis munditiis.* In the polite or elegant accomplishments of a city; in city refinements.

quam gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is [i]ad id locorum talis vir (nam postea ambitione praeceps datus est) [k]petere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se [l]per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur.

LXIV. IGITUR, ubi Marius haruspicis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petundi gratia missionem rogat: cui quamquam virtus, gloria atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat [m]contemtor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum commotus insolita re, mirari ejus consilium, et quasi per amicitiam monere, " ne tam [n]prava inciperet, neu super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse: debere illi res suas satis placere: postremo caveret id peterĕ a populo Romano, quod illi jure negaretur." Postquam haec atque talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur, respondit, " [o]ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese, quae peteret." Ac postea saepius eadem postulanti, fertur dixisse, " ne festinaret abire: satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum." Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter xx. quae

i *Ad id locorum.* To that time; *locus* being often put for *tempus.*

k *Petere.* This word, when taken absolutely, is equivalent to *petere consulatum.* In some editions *consulatum* is expressed.

l *Per manus.* From hand to hand.

m *Contemtor animus. Contemtum aliorum fovens;* a disdainful spirit. An archaism for *contemptor,* and used adjectively by enallage.

n *Prava,* &c. That he would not engage in such a perverse scheme.

o *Ubi primum,* &c. As soon as the public business would permit.

res Marium cum pro honore, quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine atque ira, pessumis consultoribus, grassari; neque facto ullo, neque dicto abstinere, quod modo [p]ambitiosum foret: milites, quibus in hibernis praeerat, laxiore imperio, quam antea, habere: apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, [q]criminose simul, et magnifice de bello loqui: "[r]dimidia pars exercitus sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum: ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo [s]inanis et [t]regiae superbiae imperio nimis gauderet." Quae omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiaris corruperant, et animo [u]cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

LXV. ERAT praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissae nepos, quem Micipsa testamento [v]secundum heredem scripserat, [w]morbis confectus, et ob eam caussam [w]mente paullum imminuta. Cui Metellus petenti, more regum uti [x]sellam juxta

p *Ambitiosum.* Provided it was calculated to gain favour, or popularity.

q *Criminose,* &c. In a style of accusation with respect to Metellus, and boastingly with respect to himself.

r *Dimidia,* &c. *Si* must be here understood.

s *Inanis.* Vain.

t *Regiæ superbiæ.* As proud as a king; of insufferable pride.

u *Cupienti* To an ardent spirit.

v *Secundum heredem.* The person to whom the inheritance was devised, in case the appointed heir died, refused, or was unable to take possession. Princes and great men sometimes nominated a third or fourth heir.

w *Morbis confectus,* &c. Wasted by disease, and consequently a little shattered in his mental powers.

x *Sellam,* &c. The General had a chair of state, on which he sat, when he presided in a council of war, or in judgment, or gave audience to ambassadors. His lieutenant generals and other persons of distinction took places round him; and if a king happened to be in the army, he sat next to the general, on his right hand.

poneret, item postea custodiae caussa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat; honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges adpellavisset; praesidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidae traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium adgreditur atque hortatur, uti contumeliarum [y]imperatoris cum suo auxilio poenas petat: hominem ob morbos animo parum valido [z]secunda oratione extollit: "illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissae nepotem esse: si Jugurtha captus, aut occisus, imperium Numidiae sine mora habiturum: id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret." Itaque et illum, et [a]equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque spes pacis impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus [b]honestissuma suffragatione consulatus petebatur: simul ea tempestate [c]plebes, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

LXVI. INTERIM Jugurtha postquam, omissa deditione, bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum: civitates, quae ab se defecerant, formidine, aut [d]ostentando praemia adfectare: communire suos locos; arma, tela, alia, quae spe pacis amiserat, [e]reficere, aut commercari: servitia Romanorum adlicere, et eos ip-

y *Imperatoris.* In some editions *in imperatorem.*
z *Secunda oratione.* In a flattering speech.
a *Equites Romanos.* The farmers of the revenue, who collected the public taxes. These were of equestrian rank, and much respected at Rome; though hated in the provinces.
b *Honestissuma suffragatione.* By a very respectable interest.
c *Plebes,* contracted *plebs.* In the genitive *is* or *ei.*
d *Ostentando præmia.* By offering rewards.
e *Reficere.* He made anew.

sos, qui in praesidiis erant, pecunia tentare: prorsus nihil intactum, neque quietum pati: [f]cuncta agitare. Igitur Vagenses, quo Metellus initio, Jugurtha pacificante, praesidium imposuerat, fatigati regis [g]suppliciis, neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant: nam volgus, uti plerumque solet, et maxume Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque [h]discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio advorsum. Dein, compositis inter se rebus, diem tertium constituunt, quod is [i]festus celebratusque per omnem Africam, ludum et lasciviam magis, quam formidinem ostentabat. Sed, ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militares, et ipsum praefectum oppidi, T. Turpilium Silanum, alius alium domos suas invitant: eos omnis, praeter Turpilium, inter [k]epulas obtruncant: postea milites palantis, inermos, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, adgrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quîs, acta consiliumque ignorantibus, tumultus ipse et res novae satis placebant.

LXVII. ROMANI milites, improviso metu, incerti ignarique, quid potissumum facerent, [l]trepidare ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant: praesidium hostium, portae ante clausae fugam prohibebant: ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis aedi-

[f] *Cuncta agitare.* He put every engine in motion.

[g] *Suppliciis.* By entreaties.

[h] *Discordiosum.* Contentious: a word perhaps peculiar to Sallust.

[i] *Festus. Dies festus,* a festival day, a holiday; *dies fastus,* a court day; *nefastus,* not a court day, an unlucky day; *dies profestus,* or *profanus,* a common or working day; *intercisus,* a half holiday.

[k] *Epulas.* In the singular *epulum, i* of the second declension; in the plural *epulæ, arum* of the first.

[l] *Trepidare ad arcem.* Hurried, or ran hastily to the citadel.

ficiorum saxa, et alia, quae locus praebebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri [m]anceps malum, neque a fortissumis [n]infirmissumo generi resisti posse: juxta boni malique, strenui et imbelles inulti obtruncati. [o]In ea tanta asperitate, saevissumis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, [p]Turpilius unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus: id misericordiane hospitis, an pactione, an casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita fama integra potior, improbus [q]intestabilisque videtur.

LXVIII. METELLUS, postquam de rebus Vagae actis comperit, paullisper moestus [r]e conspectu abit; deinde, ubi ira et aegritudo permixta, cum maxuma cura ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et, quam plurimos potest, Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis [s]expeditos educit: et postera die circiter [t]horam tertiam pervenit in quamdam planitiem, locis paullo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine, et jam abnuentis omnia, docet, " oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse: decere illos reliquum laborem aequo animo pati,

m *Anceps malum.* Distress pressing on all sides.

n *Infirmissumo generi.* The feeblest portion of the human race, viz. women and children.

o *In ea tanta asperitate,* &c. In this distressing situation. *Sævissumis Numidis,* scil. *existentibus.*

p *Turpilius.* In some editions *præfectus* follows *Turpilius.*

q *Intestabilis.* Detestable, infamous. The word properly signifies one who can neither make a will, be a witness, or receive any testamentary bequest.

r *E conspectu abit.* Avoids the sight of men, shuts himself up, or retires from society.

s *Expeditos.* Disencumbered of baggage.

t *Horam tertiam.* The Romans, reckoning from sun-rising to sun-setting, divided the day into twelve hours. At the equinoxes therefore, the third hour would exactly coincide with nine o'clock A. M.

dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissumis atque miserrumis, poenas caperent:" praeterea [u]praedam benigne ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo [v]late, pedites quam artissume ire, signa occultare jubet.

LXIX. VAGENSES ubi animum advortere, ad se vorsum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum rati, portas clausere; deinde, ubi neque agros vastari, et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque, repente signo dato, alii volgum [w]effusum oppido caedere; alii ad portas festinare; pars turris capere: ira atque praedae spes amplius, quam lassitudo [x]posse. Ita Vagenses biduum modo [y]ex perfidia laetati: civitas magna et opulens [z]poenae cuncta, aut praedae fuit. Turpilius, quem, praefectum oppidi, unum ex omnibus profugisse, supra ostendimus, jussus a Metello caussam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus, verberatusque, capite poenas solvit: nam is civis [a]ex Latio erat.

LXX. PER idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi, et ipse eum suspiciens, novas res cupere; ad perniciem ejus dolum quae-

[u] *Prædam benigne ostentat.* He generously offers them the booty of the place.

[v] *Late.* In some editions *latere,* which is inadmissible, consistently with the sense.

[w] *Effusum.* That came out in crouds; that thronged out of the town.

[x] *Posse.* *Facere* understood.

[y] *Ex,* &c. After or since their treachery.

[z] *Pœnæ,* &c. Was wholly given up to punishment, (military execution,) or to plunder.

[a] *Ex Latio.* A native citizen of Rome, by the Porcian law, could neither be scourged nor put to death.

rere; diu noctuque fatigare animum: denique omnia tentando, socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, [b]carum acceptumque popularibus suis; qui plerumque [c]seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare, et omnis res exsequi solitus erat, quae Jugurthae fesso, aut majoribus adstricto [d]superaverant: ex quo illi gloria opesque inventae. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur: cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem [e]inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager, inultis hostibus, vastaretur. Is postquam, magnitudine facinoris perculsus, ad tempus non venit, metusque rem impediebat; Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi, et timore socii anxius, ne, omisso [f]vetere consilio, novum quaereret, litteras ad eum per homines fidelis mittit, "[g]mollitiem secordiamque viri accusare: testari deos, per quos juravisset: [h]praemia Metelli in pestem ne converteret: Jugurthae exitium adesse, ceterum suane, an virtute Metelli periret, id modo [i]agitari: proinde reputaret cum animo suo, praemia, an cruciatum mallet."

LXXI. SED, cum hae litterae adlatae, forte Nabdalsa, exercito corpore fessus, in lecto quiescebat; ubi, cognitis Bomilcaris verbis, primo cura, deinde, uti aegrum animum solet, somnus cepit.

b *Carum.* In some editions *clarum,* connected with *opibus.*

c *Seorsum.* Separately.

d *Superaverant.* Had remained undone.

e *Inter hiberna.* Between the winter quarters; or perhaps *inter* may here signify near to, a signification, which it sometimes admits.

f *Vetere.* His former.

g *Mollitiem.* In some editions this word is preceded by *in quis.*

h *Praemia.* Preceded in some editions by *monere.*

i *Agitari.* That it was the question only.

Erat ei Numida quidam, negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque, et omnium consiliorum, nisi novissumi, particeps. Qui postquam adlatas litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus opera aut ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introivit: dormiente illo epistolam, super caput in pulvino temere positam, sumit ac perlegit; dein propere, cognitis insidiis, ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa, post paullo experrectus, ubi neque epistolam reperit, et rem omnem, uti [k]acta, cognovit, primo [l]indicem persequi conatus; postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia accedit: "quae ipse paravisset, perfidia clientis sui [m]praeventa:" lacrumans obtestatur "per amicitiam, perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet."

LXXII. AD ea rex [n]aliter, atque animo gerebat, placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis, iram oppresserat; ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthae dies, aut nox ulla quieta [o]fuere: neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam, aut tempori satis credere: civis, hostis juxta metuere: [p]circumspectare omnia, et omni strepitu pavescere: alio atque alio loco, saepe contra decus regium noctu requiescere: interdum somno excitus, arreptis armis tumultum facere: ita formidine, quasi vecordia, exagitari.

LXXIII. IGITUR Metellus, ubi de casu Bomil-

[k] *Acta.* After *acta* in some editions we find *ex perfugis cognovit.*

[l] *Indicem.* The informer.

[m] *Præventa.* In some editions *facere præventum.*

[n] *Aliter, atque.* After *aliter, alius secus,* &c. *atque* or *ac* is used instead of *quam.*

[o] *Fuere.* In other editions *fuit,* singular, which following two nouns connected by a disjunctive conjunction, is more common.

[p] *Circumspectare.* Narrowly inspected.

caris et indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus, tamquam ad integrum bellum, cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de profectione, simul et invitum, et offensum sibi, parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romae plebes, litteris, quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitis, [q]volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quae antea decori, invidiae esse: at [r]illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat: ceterum in utroque magis [s]studia partium, quam bona, aut mala sua, moderata. Praeterea, seditiosi magistratus volgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus concionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res [t]fidesque in manibus sitae erant, relictis operibus, [u]frequentarent Marium, et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita, perculsa nobilitate, post [v]multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur: et postea populus a tribuno plebis, Manilio Mancino, rogatus, QUEM VELLET CUM JUGURTHA BELLUM GERERE? frequens Marium jussit. Senatus paullo ante Metello [w]decreverat: ea res frustra fuit.

q *Volenti animo.* Critics differ with respect to this expression: most of them will have *volenti animo* to be the ablative case; but if compared with similar expressions in Sallust and other authors, we confess ourselves inclined to think it will be acknowledged to be a dative, *quæ erant* being understood. The structure is after the Greek model, and the meaning is—having heard the accounts that were transmitted concerning Metellus and Marius, they were, in both cases, such as gratified their inclinations.

r *Illi.* Used as the definite article.

s *Studia partium.* Party-spirit.

t *Fidesque.* Their property and credit depended on their labour.

u *Frequentarent.* Crouded about, or attended Marius in crowds.

v *Multas tempestates.* After a long time.

w *Decreverat.* *Numidiam* understood; in some editions it is expressed.

LXXIV. EODEM tempore Jugurtha, amissis amicis; quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant; cum neque bellum geri sine administris posset, et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, [x]varius incertusque agitabat: neque illi res, neque consilium, aut quisquam hominum satis placebat: itinera praefectosque in dies mutare: modo advorsum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere: saepe in fuga, ac post paullo spem in armis habere: dubitare, virtuti popularium, an fide minus crederet: ita, quocumque intenderat, res advorsae erant. Sed, inter eas moras, repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidae ab Jugurtha pro tempore parati instructique: dein praelium incipitur. Qua in parte rex [y]adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum: ceteri omnes [ejus milites] primo concursu pulsi fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti: nam ferme Numidas in omnibus praeliis pedes magis, quam arma [z]tuta sunt.

LXXV. EA fuga Jugurtha impensius modo rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum et opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri, [a]filiorumque ejus multus pueritiae cultus erat. Quae postquam Metello comperta, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proxumum, spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen,

x *Varius incertusque agitabat*, scil. *se*. He was agitated by a variety of emotions, and uncertain what he should do.

y *Adfuit*. *Pugnæ* understood; in some editions it is expressed.

z *Tuta sunt*. The perfect of the indicative from *tueor*. In other editions *tutata sunt*.

a *Filiorumque*, &c. By synecdoche, for *liberorum*. *Multus cultus pueritiæ*, &c. Where many things were provided for the education and bringing up of his children.

spe patrandi belli, [si ejus oppidi potitus foret] omnis asperitates supervadere, ac naturam etiam vincere adgreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levari jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem: ceterum utres modo, et alia aquae idonea portari. Praeterea conquirit ex agris, quam plurimum potest, domiti pecoris; eoque imponit [b]vasa cujusque modi, pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc, finitumis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquae portarent; diem locumque, [c]ubi praesto fuerint, praedicit. Ipse ex flumine, quam proxumam oppido aquam supra diximus, jumenta onerat: eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde, ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente coelo missa vis aquae dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Praeterea commeatus spe amplior; quia Numidae, sicuti plerique in nova deditione, [d]officia intenderant. Ceterum milites religione pluvia magis usi: eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese dîs immortalibus curae esse. Deinde postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthae, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum parare: idem nostri facere.

LXXVI. SED rex nihil jam [e]infectum Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, [f]arma, tela, locos, tem-

[b] *Vdsa.* *Vas* singular is neuter, third declension; *vasa* plural, second declension.

[c] *Ubi,* &c. When and where; since *ubi* is here applicable both to *diem* and *locum.*

[d] *Officia intenderant.* Had overdone their duty; had done more than they were ordered.

[e] *Infectum.* Impracticable.

[f] *Arma, tela.* Defensive and offensive weapons, here figuratively taken for things defensive and offensive. Had over-

pora, denique naturam ipsam, ceteris imperitantem, industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex oppido noctu profugit: neque postea in ullo loco amplius una die, aut una nocte moratus, simulabat sese negotii gratia properare; ceterum proditionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat: nam talia consilia [g]per otium, et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos praelio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus, et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque moenia circumvenit. Deinde locis [h]ex copia maxume idoneis vineas agere, aggerem jacere, et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra haec oppidani festinare, parare: prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo ante labore praeliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti: praeda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum [i]arietibus feriri, resque suas adflictas vident, aurum atque argentum, et alia, quae prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant: ibi vino et epulis onerati, illaque, et domum, et semet igni corrumpunt; et quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerent, eas ipsi volentes pependere.

LXXVII. SED pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes, "uti praesidium praefectumque eo mitteret: Ha-

come every difficulty arising from obstacles prepared either for offence or defence.

g *Per otium*, &c. In the time of leisure, and in consequence of opportunity.

h *Ex copia*, &c. Out of the whole number.

i *Arietibus*, &c. The battering ram was a long beam, with a head of iron, somewhat resembling that of a ram. It was suspended by ropes fastened to a beam, that lay across two posts, and being thus balanced was thrust forward against the wall, and drawn back, till by repeated strokes it broke down the wall. It was protected by Vineæ.

milcarem qemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere; advorsum quem neque imperia magistratuum, neque leges valerent: ni id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore." Nam Leptitani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam consulem, et postea Romam miserant, amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta a Bestia, Albino, Metelloque imperata [k]navi fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile, quae petebant, adepti. Emissae eo cohortes Ligurum quatuor, et C. Annius praefectus.

LXXVIII. ID oppidum ab [l]Sidoniis conditum, quos accepimus, profugos ob discordias civilis, navibus in eos locos venisse: ceterum situm inter duas Syrtis, quibus nomen [m]ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in [n]extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura: quorum proxuma terrae praealta sunt; cetera, uti fors tulit, alta; alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse, et saevire ventis coepit, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Ejus civitatis lingua modo conversa connubio Numidarum: leges, cultusque pleraque Sidonica; quae eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam [o]multi vastique loci erant.

[k] *Navi.* Sometimes written *gnavi.* Some editions have *gnavè.*

[l] *Sidoniis.* Sidon was once a flourishing city to the north of Judæa, and in the neighbourhood of Tyre.

[m] *Ex re.* From the reality; from the real circumstances of the case: *Syrtes* being derived from συρω, I draw or drag; because the sand and stones were drawn backward and forward by the violence of the wind and tide.

[n] *Extrema.* The extremity of Africa towards the east, according to the ancient division of it.

[o] *Multi.* In some editions *inculti,* between the meaning of which and that of *vasti,* there is but a shade of difference.

LXXIX. SED, quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur, egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem locus admonuit. Qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraeque Africae imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, [p]una specie: neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret; quae res eos in magno diuturno bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque [q]legiones, item classes [r]fusae fugataeque, et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriverant; veriti, ne mox victos victoresque defessos alius adgrederetur, per inducias sponsionem faciunt, "uti certo die legati domo proficiscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur." Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philaenis erat, maturavere iter pergere: Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id secordiane, an casu acciderit, parum cognovi. Ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus, atque in mari retinere. Nam ubi, per loca aequalia et [s]nuda gignentium, ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea magna vi agitata, ora oculosque implere solet; ita prospectu impedito, morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se vident, et ob rem corruptam domi poenas metuunt; criminari, Carthaginienses ante tempus domo digressos, conturbare rem: denique omnia malle, quam victi abire. Sed cum [t]Poeni aliam conditionem, tantummodo ae-

p *Una specie.* Of a uniform appearance, viz. a naked, open plain.

q *Legiones.* Troops are here so called in reference to the composition of a Roman army.

r *Fusæ.* In some editions *sæpe fusæ.*

s *Nuda gignentium.* Bare of vegetable productions.

t *Pœni.* A corruption of *Phœni,* contracted from *Phœnices,* the plural of Φοινιξ, a palm tree.

quam, peterent, [u]Graeci optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, "[v]vel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur; vel eadem conditione sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros." Philaeni, conditione probata, seque vitamque reipublicae condonavere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philaenis fratribus aras consecravere; aliique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

LXXX. JUGURTHA postquam, amissa Thala, nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gaetulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque, et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit: ac paullatim consuefacit [w]ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Praeterea regis Bocchi proxumos magnis muneribus, et majoribus promissis ad studium sui perducit; quîs adjutoribus regem adgressus, impellit, uti advorsum Romanos bellum suscipiat. Id ea gratia [x]facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romam miserat, foedus et amicitiam petitum; quam rem opportunissumam incepto bello pauci impediverant, caeci avaritia, quîs omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurthae filia [y]Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea [z]necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur: quod singuli, pro opibus quisque, quam plurimas

[u] *Græci.* The Cyrenians, a colony from Greece.

[v] *Vel illi.* *Ut* understood before *vel;* in some editions it is expressed.

[w] *Ordines habere.* To keep rank.

[x] *Facilius proniusque.* That was the more easily effected, and more agreeable to the inclination of Bocchus.

[y] *Bocchi.* In some editions *Boccho,* which renders the sentence ambiguous.

[z] *Necessitudo.* Connection, relationship.

uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent; sed reges [a]eo amplius. Ita animus multitudine distrahitur; [b]nulla pro socia obtinet: pariter omnes viles sunt.

LXXXI. IGITUR in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt: ibi, fide data et accepta, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: "Romanos injustos, profunda avaritia, communis omnium hostis esse: eamdem illos caussam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi: quîs omnia regna advorsa sint: tum sese, paullo ante Carthaginienses, item regem [c]Persen, post, uti quisque opulentissumus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore." His atque aliis talibus dictis, ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt; quod ibi Metellus praedam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus, aut, capta urbe, [d]operae pretium fore; aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, praelio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere; ne moras agitando, aliud, quam bellum, mallet.

LXXXII. IMPERATOR postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere, neque, uti saepe jam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit: ceterum haud procul ab Cirta, castris munitis, reges opperitur; melius ratus, cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis accesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Roma per litteras certior fit, provinciam Numidiam Mario datam: nam consulem factum, jam antea acceperat. Quîs rebus supra [e]bonum atque honestum perculsus,

[a] *Eo amplius. Eo plures* scil. *uxores.*

[b] *Nulla.* In some editions *nullam.*

[c] *Persen.* Perses, King of Macedonia, vanquished and led in triumph by Paulus Aemilius.

[d] *Operæ pretium fore.* Would reward him for his trouble.

[e] *Bonum atque honestum.* Right and honourable, or decent.

neque lacrumas tenere, neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus, [f]nimis molliter aegritudinem pati. Quam rem alii [g]in superbiam vortebant: alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse: multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur: nobis satis cognitum, illum magis honore Marii, quam injuria sua excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si [h]ademta provincia alii, quam Mario, traderetur.

LXXXIII. IGITUR eo dolore impeditus, et quia stultitiae videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, postulatum, "ne sine caussa hostis populo Romano fieret: habere eum [i]magnam copiam societatis amicitiaeque conjungendae, quae potior bello esset: quamquam opibus confideret, [k]non debere incerta pro certis mutare: omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum aegerrume desinere: non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse: incipere cuivis, etiam ignavo licere; deponi, cum victores velint: proinde sibi regnoque consuleret, neu florentis res suas cum Jugurthae perditis misceret." Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit; "sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthae fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura." Rursus imperator [l]contra postulata Bocchi nuncios mittit: [m]ille probare, partim abnuere. Eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque nunciis, tempus procedere, et, ex Metelli voluntate, bellum intactum trahi.

LXXXIV. AT Marius, ut supra diximus, cu-

f *Nimis molliter*, &c. Literally he bore trouble of mind too effeminately; he wanted fortitude to sustain mental anxiety.

g *In superbiam.* Ascribed to pride.

h *Ademta.* An archaism for *adempta*.

i *Magnam copiam.* A great opportunity.

k *Non debere.* In some editions *tamen non debere*.

l *Contra.* In answer to.

m *Ille probare*, &c. *Partim* must be understood with *probare*.

pientissuma plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus [n]jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati, tum vero [o]multus atque ferox instare: singulos modo, modo universos laedere: dictitare, "sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse;" alia praeterea magnifica pro se, et illis dolentia. Interim, quae bello opus erant, prima habere: postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque arcessere: praeterea ex Latio fortissumum quemque, plerosque militiae, paucos fama cognitos accire, et [p]ambiendo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis [secum proficisci.] Neque illi senatus, quamquam advorsus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; ceterum supplementum etiam laetus decreverat: quia neque plebi militia [q]volenti putabatur, et Marius aut belli [r]usum, aut studia volgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata; tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque praeda locupletem, victorem domum rediturum, alia hujuscemodi [s]animis trahebant: et eos non paullum oratione sua Marius arrexerat. Nam, postquam, omnibus quae postulaverat, decretis, milites scribere volt, hortandi caussa simul, et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, [t]exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

LXXXV. "SCIO ego, Quirites, plerosque non îsdem artibus imperium a vobis petere, et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere: primo industrios, sup-

n *Jussit.* *Dari* being understood.

o *Multus atque ferox.* For *multum atque ferociter.*

p *Ambiendo.* By courtly solicitations he prevailed upon men that had served out their time, &c.

q *Volenti.* This construction has been explained in a former note.

r *Usum.* The advantage or fruit of the war.

s *Animis trahebant.* They conceived.

t *Exagitandi.* Of vexing the nobility.

plicis, modicos esse; dehinc per ignaviam et superbiam aetatem agere: sed mihi [u]contra ea videtur. Nam, quo universa respublica pluris est, quam consulatus aut praetura, eo majore cura [v]administrari, quam haec peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maxumo beneficio vestro negotii sustineam. Bellum parare, simul, et aerario parcere; cogere ad militiam, quos nolis offendere; domi forisque omnia curare; et ea agere inter invidos, occursantis, factiosos, [w]opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc, alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum facta fortia, cognatorum et adfinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia haec praesidio adsunt: mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas necesse est et virtute, et innocentia tutari: nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intellego, Quirites, [x]omnium ora in me conversa esse: aequos bonosque favere: quippe benefacta mea reipublicae [y]procedunt; nobilitatem locum invadendi quaerere. Quo mihi acrius adnitendum est, ut neque vos [z]capiamini, et illi frustra sint. Ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui, ut omnis labores, pericula consueta habeam. Quae ante vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti, accepta mercede, deseram, non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere: mihi, qui omnem

u *Contra ea.* For *contrarium*, or, *quod est contra ea.*

v *Administrari.* *Illam* being understood; in some editions it is expressed.

w *Opinione.* Is more difficult than is generally supposed;—than expectation.

x *Omnium ora*, &c. That the eyes of all are turned towards me.

y *Procedunt.* Are serviceable to the state; or, as some suppose, my services to the state are in their view. If the last construction be admitted, the substantive *benefacta* must govern the dative.

z *Capiamini, et illi*, &c. That ye may not be ensnared, and that they may be disappointed. *Frustra* for *frustrati.*

aetatem in optumis artibus egi, benefacere jam ex consuetudine [a]in naturam vertit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis; quam rem nobilitas aegerrume tulit. Quaeso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutare melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc, aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem [b]veteris prosapiae ac multarum imaginum, et [c]nullius stipendii: scilicet ut in tanta re, ignarus omnium, trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii. Ita plerumque evenit, ut, quem vos imperare jussistis, is imperatorem alium quaerat. Ac ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam consules facti sunt, acta majorum, et Graecorum militaria praecepta legere coeperint; homines [d]praeposteri. Nam [e]gerere, quam fieri, tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. Quae illi audire et legere solent, eorum partim vidi, alia egomet gessi: quae illi litteris, ego militando didici. Nunc vos existumate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego illorum ignaviam: mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur; quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existumo, sed fortissumum quemque [f]generosissumum. Ac, si jam ex patribus Albini, aut Bestiae quaeri posset, mene, an illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid responsuros creditis, nisi, sese liberos quam optumos voluisse? Quod si jure me despiciunt, faciant idem majoribus suis, quibus,

[a] *In naturam vertit.* Has become natural.

[b] *Veteris prosapiæ,* &c. A man of ancient family, and descended from a line of noble ancestors.

[c] *Nullius stipendii.* Who has seen no service.

[d] *Præposteri.* Preposterous, absurd.

[e] *Gerere,* &c. For the conduct or management of a business, though posterior in time to the appointment, is prior in fact, or in practice, or in point of qualifications and experience.

[f] *Generosissumum.* The most of a gentleman.

uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas coepit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant et labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. Ne illi falsi sunt, qui divorsissumas res pariter exspectant, ignaviae voluptatem, et praemia virtutis. Atque etiam cum apud vos, aut in senatu [g]verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores suos extollunt: eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant; quod [h]contra. Nam, [i]quantum vita illorum praeclarior, tanto horum secordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita se res habet: majorum gloria posteris lumen est, neque bona neque mala in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites; verum id, quod multo praeclarius est, meamet facta dicere licet. Nunc videte, quam iniqui sint. Quod ex aliena virtute sibi adrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt: scilicet, quia imagines non habeo, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est; quam certe peperisse melius est, quam acceptam corrupisse. Equidem ego non ignoro, si jam respondere velint, abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. Sed, in maxumo vestro beneficio, cum omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in [k]conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem, [l]ex animi sententia, nulla oratio laedere potest: [m]quippe vera

g *Verba faciunt.* *Verba facere,* to speak, to advocate a cause; *verba dare,* to impose on.

h *Contra.* By enallage for *contrarium.*

i *Quantum.* Is here opposed to *tanto,* though *quanto* is more usual, and is also found in some editions.

k *Conscientiam.* A consciousness of guilt.

l *Ex animi sententia.* A mode of assertion: I am persuaded; as I really think.

m *Quippe vera,* &c. The sentence must be supplied thus: *quippe si vera prædicet, necesse est ut bene prædicet.*

necesse est bene praedicet; falsam vita moresque mei superant. Sed, quoniam vestra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem, et maxumum negotium imposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num id poenitendum sit. Non possum fidei caussa imagines, neque triumphos, aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare; at, si res postulet, [n]hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona; praeterea cicatrices [o]advorso corpore. Hae sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas, non haereditate [p]relicta, ut illa illis, sed quae ego plurimis laboribus et periculis quaesivi. Non sunt composita verba mea: [q]parum id facio; ipsa se virtus satis ostendit: illis artificio opus est, uti turpia facta [r]oratione tegant. Neque litteras Graecas didici: parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad virtutem [s]doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multo optuma reipublicae doctus sum; hostem ferire, [t]praesidia agitare; nihil metuere, nisi turpem famam; hiemem et aestatem juxta pati; humi requiescere; eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego praeceptis milites hortabor: neque [u]illos arte colam, me opulenter; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum fa-

n *Hastas, vexillum,* &c. These were rewards commonly given to bravery. The *hasta,* called also *hasta pura,* was a spear of wood; *vexillum,* a banner curiously wrought, and of valuable materials; *phaleræ,* horse-trappings, or ornaments for the necks of men.

o *Advorso corpore.* Scars in front, or in the fore part of the body.

p *Relicta—illa—quae.* These are plural, referring to *imagines et nobilitas.*

q *Parum id facio.* I value that little; I make not that my business.

r *Oratione.* By oratory, by an elegant style.

s *Doctoribus.* The Greeks, who taught their language to the Romans, were at that time a conquered people.

t *Præsidia agitare.* To conduct a guard, or rather a convoy.

u *Illos arte colam.* Will I confine them to strict discipline, and indulge myself?

ciam. Hoc est utile, hoc [v]civile imperium. Namque, cum [w]tute per mollitiem agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est, [x]dominum, non imperatorem esse. Haec atque talia majores vestri faciundo seque remque publicam celebravere. Quîs nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum aemulos contemnit; et omnis honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissumi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia quae licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram: virtutem non reliquere; neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, quia parum scite [y]convivium exorno, neque [z]histrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii coquum, quam [a]villicum, habeo; quae mihi lubet confiteri. Nam ex parente meo, et ex [b]sanctis viris ita accepi, [c]munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae, quam divitiarum; arma, non supellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo, quod juvat, quod carum aestumant, id semper faciant; [d]ament, potent; ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissimae parti corporis; sudorem, pulverem et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus illa epu-

v *Civile.* Becoming a citizen, or, accommodated to citizens.

w *Tute.* Not an adverb, but a pronoun. When you yourself live in luxurious indulgence.

x *Dominum.* A tyrant.

y *Convivium exorno.* I do not with elegance furnish out, or prepare an entertainment.

z *Histrionem.* A buffoon kept for the entertainment of company.

a *Villicum.* A steward, or person who had the charge of a nobleman's country estate. Hence the English word villain.

b *Sanctis.* Men of integrity, venerable persons.

c *Munditias.* Niceties.

d *Ament, potent.* These words are both taken in a bad sense here; let them wench, let them tipple.

lis jucundiora sunt. Verum non est ita. Nam, ubi se omnibus flagitiis dedecoravere turpissumi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissume luxuria et ignavia, pessume artes, illis qui coluere eas, nihil obficiunt; reipublicae innoxiae cladi sunt. Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi, pauca de republica loquar. Primum omnium, de Numidia bonum habetote animum, Quirites. Nam, quae ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tuta sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est, locorum sciens; sed mehercule magis strenuus, quam felix. Nam magna pars avaritia, aut temeritate ducum adtrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus [e]militaris aetas, adnitimini mecum, et [f]capessite rempublicam: neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum, aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in praelio consultor idem, et socius periculi vobiscum adero; meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto, dîs juvantibus, omnia matura sunt, victoria, praeda, laus: quae si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos reipublicae subvenire [g]decebat. Etenim ignavia nemo immortalis factus: neque quisquam parens liberis, uti aeterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto."

LXXXVI. HUJUSCEMODI oratione habita, Marius postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere commeatu, stipendio, armis, aliis utilibus navis onerat: cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse interea milites scribere, non more

e *Militaris ætas.* The age for military service was from 17 to 46, sometimes to 50.

f *Capessite,* &c. Undertake the cause of the commonwealth.

g *Decebat.* In some editions *decet.*

majorum, neque [h]ex classibus, sed uti cujusque lubido erat, [i]capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii inopia [k]bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant; quod ab eo genere celebratus [l]auctusque erat; et homini potentiam quaerenti egentissumus quisque opportunissumus, cui neque sua curae, quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia [m]cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum majore aliquanto numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus, diebus paucis Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato; nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat, ne videret ea, quae audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

LXXXVII. SED consul, expletis legionibus cohortibusque [n]auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem et praeda onustum proficiscitur: omnia ibi capta militibus donat: dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum munita adgreditur: praelia multa, ceterum alia levia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse: videre fugientis capi, occidi; fortissumum quemque tutissumum; armis libertatem, patriam parentesque et alia omnia tegi; gloriam atque divitias quaeri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium aequalis

h *Ex classibus.* The Roman people were divided into six classes, according to their estates: the first class consisting of the richest citizens; the second class was next in wealth and dignity to the first; and so progressing downwards to the sixth class, which had no property. Those included in it were therefore called *capite censi*, taxed by the head.

i *Capite censos.* Those of the sixth or last class, who were not admitted into the Roman legions before the time of Marius, unless in dangerous conjunctures, as having no interest in the welfare of the state, so far at least as property was concerned.

k *Bonorum.* This word in this instance has reference to property; and the meaning is for want of *better.*

l *Auctusque erat.* Scil. *honore;* exalted or raised to dignity.

m *Cum pretio.* With gain; if attended with profit.

n *Auxiliariis.* The troops sent by foreign kings and states were so called.

facta. At reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, [o]divorsi in locos difficilis abeunt. Ita Jugurthae placuerat, speranti, mox effusos hostis invadi [posse;] Romanos, sicuti plerosque, remoto metu, laxius licentiusque futuros.

LXXXVIII. METELLUS interea Romam profectus, contra spem suam, [p]laetissumis animis excipitur; plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter adtendere: cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contra esset: explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias antevenire: nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati: [q]et Gaetulos, et Jugurtham, ex sociis nostris praedam agentes, saepe adgressus itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta [r]armis exuerat. Quae postquam gloriosa modo, neque [s]belli patrandi cognovit, statuit urbis, quae viris aut loco pro hostibus, et [t]advorsum se opportunissumae erant, singulas circumvenire: ita Jugurtham aut praesidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut praelio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuncios ad eum saepe miserat, "velle populi Romani amicitiam, ne quid ab se hostile timeret." Id simulaveritne, quo improvisus [u]gravius accideret, an mo-

o *Divorsi.* Having separated.

p *Lætissumis animis.* Was very joyfully received. He was afterwards honoured with a triumph, and with the sirname Numidicus.

q *Et.* In some editions *itaque.*

r *Armis exuerat. Armis, castris, urbe, &c. exuere;* to cause one to flee with the loss of arms,—to quit his camp,—to lose a city.

s *Belli patrandi.* The means of bringing the war to a conclusion, *rationem,* or a word of similar import being understood; so that the expression is eqivalent to *ad bellum patrandum facientia.*

t *Advorsum se.* Disadvantageous to him.

u *Gravius.* In some editions *gravior.*

bilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum.

LXXXIX. SED consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire: partim vi, alia metu, aut praemia ostentando avortere ab hostibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat, existumans, Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed, ubi procul abesse, et aliis negotiis intentum accepit, [v]majora et aspera adgredi tempus visum. Erat inter ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa, cujus conditor [w]Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham [x]immunes, levi imperio, et ob ea fidelissumi habebantur: muniti advorsum hostis non moenibus modo, et armis atque viris, multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam, praeter oppido propinqua, alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus: quarum vis, sicuti omnium ferarum, inopia cibi acrior: ad hoc natura serpentium, ipsa perniciosa, siti magis, quam alia re, accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium maxuma cupido invaserat, cum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur; et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque; nisi quod apud Thalam haud longe a moenibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo, atque ea intra oppidum, [y]jugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique, et in omni Africa, [z]qui procul a mari incultius agebant, eo facilius to-

[v] *Majora et aspera.* *Majora* being the comparative degree, requires *magis* to precede *aspera;* it is therefore understood: in some editions *magis* is expressed.

[w] *Hercules Libys.* There were many persons of this name, distinguished by their different countries; as Hercules Tyrius, Ægyptius, &c.

[x] *Immunes.* Free from taxes, under a mild government, &c.

[y] *Jugi aqua.* Perennial fountain.

[z] *Qui* In some editions *quæ,* which does not lessen, but rather increase the difficulty of the construction. In Sallust, the

lerabatur, quia Numidae plerumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur, neque [a]salem, neque alia irritamenta gulae quaerebant: cibus illis advorsum famem atque sitim, non lubidini, neque luxuriae erat.

XC. IGITUR consul, omnibus exploratis, credo, dis fretus; nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat; quippe etiam frumenti [b]inopia tentabatur, quod Numidae pabulo pecoris magis, quam [c]arvo student, et quodcumque natum fuerat, jussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager autem aridus et frugum vacuus ea tempestate, nam aestatis extremum erat; tamen [d]pro rei copia satis providenter exornat: pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus praedae fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum adtribuit: A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum [e]Laris, ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, ire jubet; [f]se praedabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occulto, pergit ad flumen Tanam.

XCI. CETERUM in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas, aequaliter distribuerat, et ex coriis utres uti fierent, curabat: simul et inopiam frumenti lenire, et, ignaris omnibus, parare, quae mox usui forent. Denique sexto die, cum ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis utrium

relative often has a reference to some word understood: so here it refers to *homines* or *populos*. The sentence, when complete, will then be, *in omni Africa, apud eos homines qui*, &c. *Qui* might be taken adverbially; but then it should rather be *qua*.

a *Salem*. This noun is sometimes neuter.

b *Inopia*. He was threatened with want of corn. Some suppose *inopia* to be the nominative to *tentabatur*, and then the meaning will be, a want of corn was hazarded, a sense which *tento* will certainly bear.

c *Arvo*. Agriculture, a metonymy.

d *Pro rei copia*. Considering circumstances.

e *Laris*. Either the genitive singular or accusative plural

f *Se prædabundum*, &c. *Dicit* understood.

effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere, atque, uti simul cum occasu solis [g]egrederentur, paratos esse jubet; omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua modo seque et jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur, noctemque totam itinere facto, consedit: idem proxuma facit: dein tertia, multo ante lucis adventum, pervenit in locum [h]tumulosum, ab Capsa non amplius duûm millium intervallo; ibique, quam occultissume potest, cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed, ubi dies coepit, et Numidae nihil hostile metuentes multi oppido egressi; repente omnem equitatum, et cum his velocissumos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam, et portas obsidere jubet: deinde ipse intentus propere sequi, neque milites praedari sinere. Quae postquam oppidani cognovere; res trepidae, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potestate, coëgere, uti deditionem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incensum: Numidae puberes interfecti; alii omnes venum dati: praeda militibus divisa. Id facinus [i]contra jus belli, non avaritia, neque scelere consulis admissum; sed quia locus Jugurthae opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile, infidum, neque beneficio, neque metu [k]coërcitum.

XCII. POSTQUAM tantam rem Marius, sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit; magnus et clarus antea, major et clarior haberi coepit. Omnia non bene consulta in virtutem trahebantur: milites, modesto imperio habiti simul, et locupletes, ad coelum ferre: Numidae magis, quam mortalem ti-

g *Egrederentur.* Scilicet *castris.*

h *Tumulosum.* Hillocky, full of small hills.

i *Contra jus,* &c. Contrary to the law or rules of war; i. e. to the usual practice of the Romans.

k *Coercitum.* Capable of being kept in subjection.

mere: postremo omnes socii atque hostes credere illi aut mentem divinam, aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit: pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit; plura deserta, propter Capsensium miserias, igni corrumpit: luctu atque caede omnia complentur. Denique, multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu incruento, ad aliam rem adgreditur, non [l]eadem asperitate, qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha, quod Jugurthae Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat [m]inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, [n]mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam [o]omnis natura, velut opere atque consulto praeceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte, quam consilio, melius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis, magna vis frumenti et fons aquae; aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus [p]importunus; iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque praecisum. Vineae cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur: nam, cum eae paullum processerant, igni, aut lapidibus corrumpebantur; milites neque pro opere consistere, propter iniquitatem loci, neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare: optumus quisque cadere, aut sauciari; ceteris metus augeri.

XCIII. AT Marius, multis diebus et laboribus

[l] *Eadem asperitate.* Not attended with difficulties of the same kind, as the taking of Capsa; but not less difficult in reality.

[m] *Inter ceteram planitiem.* In the middle of a plain. There was only a single hill, the rest was a plain.

[n] *Mediocri castello,* &c. Extensive enough to contain a middle-sized fort.

[o] *Omnis* In some editions *omnia, quoad* being understood.

[p] *Importunus.* Inaccessible.

consumtis, anxius trahere cum animo, omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua saepe prospere usus. Quae cum multos dies, noctes [q]aestuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod [r]avorsum praeliantibus erat, animum advortit inter saxa repentis cochleas: quarum cum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi paullatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi, postquam [s]solitudinem intellexit, [t]more humani ingenii, cupido ignara visundi invadit. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, [u]paullulum modo prona, dein flexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert: cujus ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus, [v]castelli planitiem perscribit; quod cuncti Numidae intenti praeliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quae mox usui fore ducebat, [w]eadem regreditur, non temere, uti escenderat, sed tentans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet, hortatur, ab ea parte, qua ipse escenderat, castellum tentet: pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa cognitum, ex praesentibus misit: quorum uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nunciavere. Consulis animus tamen paullum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum, nu-

q *Æstuans.* Boiling with vexation.

r *Avorsum prœliantibus.* On the contrary side to that where the parties were fighting.

s *Solitudinem intellexit.* He found that he was alone.

t *More,* &c. In some editions the sentence runs thus: *more humanæ cupidinis ignara visundi animum vertit.*

u *Paulułum modo prona.* Bending a little downward at first.

v *Castelli planitiem perscribit.* Reconnoitres the platform of the fort.

w *Eadem.* In some editions *eodem.*

mero quinque quam velocissumos delegit, et cum his, praesidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones: omnis Liguri parere jubet, et ei negotio proxumum diem constituit.

XCIV. SED, ubi ex praecepto tempus visum, paratis compositisque omnibus, ad locum pergit. Ceterum illi qui centuriis praeerant, praedocti ab duce, arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret: super terga gladii et scuta; verum ea Numidica ex coriis, [x]ponderis gratia simul, et offensa quo levius streperent. Igitur praegrediens Ligus saxa, et si quae vetustate radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus adlevati facilius escenderent: interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu: ubi paullo asperior adscensus, singulos prae se inermos mittere; deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi: quae [y]dubia nisu videbantur, [z]potissumus tentare, ac saepius eadem adscendens descendensque, dein statim [a]digrediens, ceteris audaciam addere. Igitur, diu multumque fatigati, tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab ea parte; quod omnes, sicuti aliis diebus, advorsum hostis aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis, quae Ligus egerat, cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos praelio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites, et ipse extra vineas egressus, [b]testudine acta succedere, et simul

x *Ponderis.* *Levioris* being understood; on account of their lightness.

y *Dubia nisu.* Dangerous to be attempted.

z *Potissumus.* In some editions *potissumum.* The adverb is much more common than the adjective.

a *Digrediens.* Stepping aside.

b *Testudine,* &c. The *testudo,* said to have been invented during the Trojan war, was so called from its likeness to a tortoise-shell. It was formed by closing their targets above their heads, so as partly to cover each other, and protect the soldiers from the missive weapons of the enemy.

hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidae, saepe antea vineis Romanorum subvorsis, item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies noctesque agitare; maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus nostris Jugurthae servitium minari; secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim omnibus Romanis hostibusque praelio intentis, magna utrimque vi, pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere: ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere; deinde, uti quisque muro proxumus erat; postremo cuncti, armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere, ac plerosque tantummodo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriae certantes murum petere; neque quemquam omnium praeda morari. Sic forte correcta Marii temeritas, gloriam ex culpa invenit.

XCV. CETERUM, dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum magno equitatu in castra venit; [d]quos uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret, Romae relictus erat. Sed, quoniam tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est, de natura cultuque ejus paucis dicere: neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus; et L. [e]Sisenna optume et diligentissume omnium qui eas res dixere, persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae, familia prope jam exstincta majorum ignavia, litteris Graecis atque Latinis juxta atque doctissume eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriae cupidior: [f]otio luxurioso; tamen ab negotiis num-

d *Quos.* Referring to *equitatu.* In some editions *quod.*

e *Sisenna.* A historian of the Cornelian family, who wrote the history of the civil war of Sylla.

f *Otio luxurioso.* Addicted to luxury, when at leisure.

quam voluptas remorata, [g]nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli: facundus, callidus, et [h]amicitia facilis: ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis: multarum rerum, ac maxume pecuniae largitor. Atque felicissumo omnium ante civilem victoriam, [i]numquam super industriam fortuna fuit; multique dubitavere, fortior, an felicior esset: nam, postea quae fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat magis, an pigeat disserere.

XCVI. IGITUR Sulla, ut supra dictum, postquam in Africam atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, [k]sollertissumus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc, milites benigne adpellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere: sed ea properantius, quam aes mutuum reddere; ipse ab nullo repetere: magis id laborare, ut illi quam plurimi deberent: joca atque seria cum humillumis agere: in operibus, in agmine atque ad vigilias multus adesse: neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consulis, aut cujusquam boni famam laedere: tantummodo neque consilio, neque [l]manu priorem alium pati; plerosque antevenire. Quîs rebus, [m]brevi, Mario militibusque carissumus factus.

g *Nisi quod*, &c. Either, except that he might have conducted himself better to his wife; for he was charged with ill treatment of his first wife; or save that he might have acted with more discretion in the choice of a second wife. He had, in his old age, formed a matrimonial connection with Valeria, by which he was dishonoured. *Potuit consuli*, taken impersonally.

h *Amicitia facilis*. Calculated to gain and preserve friendship.

i *Numquam*, &c. His fortune never exceeded his industry or merit.

k *Sollertissumus*. A very expert, or accomplished soldier.

l *Manu*. Nor in action.

m *Brevi*. In some editions, *et artibus* precede *brevi*.

XCVII. AT Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utilis simul, et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuncios mittit, "quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret: praelii faciundi tempus adesse." Quem ubi cunctari accepit, [n]dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere; rursus, uti antea, proxumos donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret. Eo praemio illectus Bocchus, cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marium jam in hiberna proficiscentem, [o]vix decima parte die reliqua, invadunt: rati noctem, quae jam aderat, victis sibi munimento fore, et, si vicissent, [p]nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant; contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem. Igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant; et, priusquam exercitus aut instrui, aut [q]sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum, aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gaetuli, non acie, neque ullo more praelii, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros [r]concurrunt; qui omnes trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientis alios ab hostibus defensabant: pars equos escendere, obviam ire hostibus: pugna latrocinio magis, quam praelio

[n] *Dubium*, &c. That he was wavering, and deliberating on the arguments for war or peace.

[o] *Vix decima*, &c. *Die* for *diei* in the genitive. Some will have *die* in the ablative *die (relicta)*, or *reliqua existente, vix*, scilicet, *decima parte*; but this construction is harsh.

[p] *Nullo impedimento*. *Nullo* the old dative, instead of *nulli*.

[q] *Sarcinas colligere*. All the baggage was collected into one place before an engagement.

[r] *Concurrunt*. In some editions *incurrunt*.

similis fieri: sine signis, sine ordinibus [s]equites pedites permixti, caedere alios, alios obtruncare, multos, contra advorsos acerrume pugnantis, ab tergo circumvenire: neque virtus, neque arma satis tegere, quod hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi: denique Romani veteres, novique, [t]et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus, aut casus conjunxerat, orbes facere; atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

XCVIII. NEQUE in eo tam aspero negotio territus Marius, aut magis, quam antea, demisso animo fuit: sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissumis magis, quam familiarissumis, paraverat, vagari passim; ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostis, ubi confertissumi obstiterant, invadere: [u]manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare, conturbatis omnibus, non poterat. Jamque dies consumtus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil remittere, atque, uti reges praeceperant, [v]noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius [w]ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, collis duos propinquos inter se occupat: quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquae magnus erat; alter usui opportunus, quia, magna parte editus et praeceps, [x]pauca munimento quaerebat. Ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet. Ipse paullatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus

[s] *Equites pedites.* Scilicet, *hostium.*

[t] *Et ob ea,* &c. And on this account, (viz. because they, the young soldiers, were united to the veterans) skilled in war.

[u] *Manu consulere.* He was serviceable to his soldiers by fighting.

[v] *Noctem pro se,* &c. Thinking the night to be in their favour,—to be an advantage to them.

[w] *Ex copia rerum.* He forms a design suitable to the situation of affairs; rendered eligible by circumstances.

[x] *Pauca munimento quærebat.* In some editions, *pauca munimenta egebat.*

conturbatis, in unum contrahit: dein cunctos [y]pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita reges, loci difficultate coacti, praelio deterrentur; neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato, effufi consedere. Dein crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari suo more laetari, exsultare, strepere vocibus: ipsi duces feroces, [z]quia non fugerent, pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis facilia visu, magnoque hortamento erant.

XCIX. PLURIMUM vero Marius imperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maxumum silentium haberi jubet: ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere: deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus et paullo ante somno captis, de improviso [a]vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere, atque portis erumpere. Mauri atque Gaetuli ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere aut providere quidquam poterant: ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore, [b]formido, quasi vecordia, ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique: arma et signa militaria pleraque capta: pluresque eo praelio, quam omnibus superioribus interemti: nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

C. DEIN Marius, uti coeperat, [c]in hiberna; quae,

[y] *Pleno gradu.* At full march.

[z] *Quia non,* &c. In some editions *quod non fugere—ac pro,* &c.

[a] *Vigiles.* In some editions *vectigales;* the meaning of which is difficult to be ascertained, unless extraordinary and supernumerary trumpeters belonging to the allies be meant. *Vigiles* is certainly preferable, and easily understood.

[b] *Formido.* In some editions *formidine.*

[c] *In hiberna.* *Proficiscitur* being understood: in other editions it is expressed; but verbs of motion, as well as substantive verbs, are frequently understood, and easily supplied.

propter commeatum, in oppidis maritumis agere decreverat: neque tamen secors victoria, aut insolens factus; sed pariter ac in conspectu hostium, quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextumos, in sinistra A. Manlius, cum funditoribus et sagittariis, [d]praeterea cohortes Ligurum curabat: primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugae, [e]minume cari et regionum scientissumi, hostium iter explorabant: simul consul, quasi nullo imposito, omnia providere; apud omnes adesse; laudare, increpare merentis. Ipse armatus intentusque, item milites cogebat: [f]neque secus, atque iter facere, castra munire; excubitum in portas cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere: praeterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, [g]non diffidentia futuri, quae imperavisset, quam uti militibus exaequatus cum

d *Præterea cohortes*, &c. As if he had said, *cum funditoribus*, &c. *curabat, præterea curabat cohortes*, &c. Manlius took charge of the left wing, &c. and had besides charge of the Ligurian cohorts.

e *Minume cari.* These words are omitted in some editions. The meaning is, whose lives were less valued.

f *Neque secus*, &c. Nor was he less careful in fortifying his camp, than he was on his march.

g *Non diffidentia futuri.* The sentence may be completed thus: *non diffidentia futuri ejus omnis, quæ*, &c. *quæ* being plural, on account of the plural import of *omnis;* but in this case a substantive must be understood to *omnis*, which requires a singular relative, and then the difficulty recurs. Others supply it thus: *futuri negotii eorum ;* in which case *eorum* must either agree with *hominum*, and then the relative should be masculine, or with *negotiorum* understood, and then the expression would be extremely harsh, not to say absurd. I would rather suggest a different mode of explication, which does not appear to me to be attended with such difficulties, thus: *non diffidentia futuri negotii, quæ negotia imperavisset, quæ* being taken for *quæcunque*, which is not uncommon; and then the mode of expression may be justified by examples, both in the Latin, and in other languages.

imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius, illo et aliis temporibus belli, pudore magis, quam [h]malo, exercitum coërcebat; quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant; pars quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam, et alia, quae ceteri miserias vocant, voluptati habuisset. [i]Nisi tamen res publica pariter, ac saevissumo imperio, bene atque decore gesta.

CI. IGITUR quarto denique die, haud longe ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores [k]citi sese ostendunt: qua re hostis adesse intellegitur. Sed, quia divorsi redeuntes, alius ab alia parte, atque omnes idem significabant; consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, advorsum omnia paratus, ibidem opperitur. Ita Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatuor partis distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus [l]aeque aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum adtigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatim et quam maxume confertis equis, ipse aliique Mauros invadunt: ceteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, et, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites praeliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux, filius ejus, adduxerat, neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati, adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos agebat, quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis [m]ad pedites convortit:

h *Malo.* By punishment.
i *Nisi.* Is here used for *sed*, but; or for *tam*- [illegible]
k *Citi.* Meaning *citato cursu*, at full speed.
l *Æque aliquos*, &c. In some editions *alios*. *Æque* must be connected with *ab tergo*. That some one of the parties would come in the rear, or on the back of the enemy, and that for this each party had an equal chance. Or *æque* may signify directly, and then *æque ab tergo* will signify directly on the back of the Romans; which I should prefer.
m *Ad pedites.* Notwithstanding the opinion of a respectable

ibi Latine (nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat) exclamat: "nostros frustra pugnare; paullo ante Marium sua manu interfectum:" simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna, satis impigre occiso pedite nostro, cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei, quam fide nuncii terrentur: simulque barbari animos tollere, et in [n]perculsos acrius incedere. Jamque paullum ab fuga aberant, cum Sulla, profligatis, quos advorsum ierat, [o]Mauris ab latere incurrit. Bocchus statim avortitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos, et prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextra, sinistra, omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium [p]vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius, fugatis equitibus, occurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile campis patentibus: sequi, fugere; occidi, capi; equi, viri adflicti: ac multi, volneribus acceptis, neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; [q]niti modo, ac statim concidere: postremo omnia, qua [r]visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus; et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

CII. [s]POSTEA loci consul, haud dubie jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo [t]post diem quintum, quam

commentator, the sense seems evidently to require, that the address of Jugurtha should have been made to the Roman infantry.

n *Perculsos.* *Romanos* must be understood; in some editions it is expressed.

o *Mauris.* In some editions *Mauros.*

p *Vitabundus.* By making great exertions to escape.

q *Niti.* They only made a struggle to rise.

r *Visus erat.* *Visus* is here a noun: as far as the sight could reach.

s *Postea loci.* A periphrasis for *postea.*

t *Post diem—quam.* *Post* is separated from *quam* by Tmesis, for the sound's sake.

iterum barbari male pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, "duo quam fidissumos ad eum mitteret: velle [u]de se, et de populi Romani commodo cum îs disserere." Ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit verba apud regem facere; ingenium aut avorsum uti flecterent, aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiae, non aetati a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujuscemodi locutus. "Rex Bocche, magna nobis laetitia, cum te talem virum dî monuere, uti aliquando pacem, quam bellum, malles; neu te optumum cum pessumo omnium Jugurtha miscendo commaculares; simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem et illum sceleratissumum [v]persequi. Ad hoc, populo Romano jam [w]inopi [x]visum, amicos, quam servos quaerere: tutius rati, volentibus, quam coactis imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia; primum, quod procul absumus, in quo offensae minimum, gratia par, ac si prope adessemus; dein, quod [y]parentes abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis, neque cuiquam omnium satis. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset! profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala [z]perpessus esses. Sed, quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit, cui scilicet placuisse et vim et gratiam nostram experiri; nunc, quando per illam licet, festina, atque,

[u] *De se.* In some editions *de suo.*

[v] *Persequi.* For *persequendi*, and governed by *necessitudinem*. The use of the infinitive for the gerund is not uncommon.

[w] *Inopi.* In some editions *a principio inopi.*

[x] *Visum.* In some editions *melius visum.*

[y] *Parentes.* Subjects, from *pareo.*

[z] *Perpessus esses.* Connected to *accepisses:* though the sense requires the preterperfect of the indicative *perpessus es*, as it is in some editions.

ut coepisti, perge. Multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata officiis superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuum demitte, nunquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum: nam bello quid valeat, tute scis." Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne; simul pauca pro delicto verba facit: "se non hostili animo, sed [a]regnum tutatum arma cepisse: nam Numidiae partem, unde vi Jugurtham expulerat, jure belli suam factam, eam vastari ab Mario pati nequivisse: praeterea missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia. Ceterum vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum." Dein, [b]copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullae et Manlii, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruperat.

CIII. MARIUS interea, exercitu in hibernis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola, obsessum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnis praesidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando, quae sibi duobus praeliis [c]venerant, seu admonitus ab amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita, et ingenia validissuma erant. Eos ad Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romam legatos ire jubet: agendarum rerum, et quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur: deinde itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, [d]sine decore ad Sullam perfugiunt, quem

[a] *Regnum tutatum.* In some editions *ob regnum tutandum*, with less elegance.

[b] *Copia facta.* When opportunity was given; *mittendi legatos* being understood.

[c] *Venerant.* The simple verb for the compound *evenerant*, which is the reading in other editions.

[d] *Sine decore.* Without ornament, without ensigns of dignity, or badges of their commission as plenipotentiaries.

consul, in expeditionem proficiscens, pro praetore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, ut meriti erant, sed [e]adcurate ac liberaliter habuit; qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiae falsam, et Sullam, ob munificentiam in sese, amicum rati. Nam etiam tum [f]largitio multis ignara: munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens: dona omnia [g]in benignitate habebantur. Igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt; simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit: copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui, et alia, quae aut utilia, aut [h]benevolentiae credebant, oratione extollunt: dein Sulla omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies XL. ibidem operiuntur.

CIV. MARIUS postquam, infecto, [i]quo intenderat, negotio, Cirtam redit; de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque et Sullam venire jubet, item L. Bellienum praetorem Utica, praeterea omnis undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab consule: interea induciae postulabantur. [k]Ea Sullae et plerisque placuere: pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quae fluxae et mobiles semper in advorsa [l]mutant. Ceterum Mauri, impetratis omnibus rebus, tres Romam

e *Adcurate*, &c. He treated them respectfully and generously.

f *Largitio.* Bribery, liberality with a view to corruption.

g *In benignitate*, &c. Were attributed to generosity.

h *Benevolentiæ.* *Parandæ* being understood. This construction has been already explained. In some editions the reading is *benevolentia esse*, *benevolentia* being an adjective.

i *Quo intenderat.* Supply the sentence thus: *quo confecto redire intenderat.* Others explain it thus: *negotio eo loci quo intenderat*, &c.

k *Ea Sullæ*, &c. *Ea* being plural refers both to *potestas eundi*, and to *induciæ.*

l *Mutant.* Is here either used for *mutantur;* or is taken as a reflective verb, *se* being understood.

profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rufo, qui quaestor stipendium in Africam portaverat; duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus cum cetera, tum maxume benignitatem et [m]studium Sullae lubens accepit. Romae legatis ejus, postquam errasse regem et Jugurthae scelere lapsum, [n]deprecati sunt, amicitiam et foedus petentibus hoc modo respondetur. "Senatus et populus Romanus beneficii et injuriae memor esse solet; ceterum Boccho, quoniam poenitet, delicti gratiam facit: foedus et amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit."

CV. QUIS rebus cognitis, Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret; [o]cujus arbitratu de communibus negotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum praesidio equitum atque peditum, funditorum [p]Balearium: praeterea [q]sagittarii et cohors [q]Peligna cum [r]velitaribus armis, itineris properandi caussa: neque his secus, atque aliis armis, advorsum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed itinere, quinto denique die, Volux, filius Bocchi, repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit: qui temere et effuse euntes, Sullae aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero, et hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur sese

[m] *Studium.* Attention, courtesy.

[n] *Deprecati sunt.* *Confitentes* being understood.

[o] *Cujus arbitratu.* By whose instrumentality, or intervention; an uncommon signification of the word.

[p] *Balearium.* The Balearean Islands were Majorca and Minorca, whose inhabitants were dexterous slingers, having been trained up to the practice from their infancy.

[q] *Sagittarii,* &c. Complete the sentence thus: *sagitarii et cohors Peligna erant;* or, *profecti sunt cum Sulla.* In some editions *iere* is expressed. The Peligni were a tribe of the Samnites in Italy. Their chief town was *Corfinium;* another of their towns was *Sulmo,* famous for being the birth-place of Ovid.

[r] *Velitaribus,* &c. Light armour, such as was used by the Velites, who fought in scattered parties in the front, or on the flanks of the legions.

quisque [s]expedire, arma atque tela [t]tentare, [s]intendere: timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, et advorsum eos, quos saepe vicerant. Interim equites, exploratum praemissi, rem, uti erat, quietam nunciant.

CVI. VOLUX adveniens quaestorem adpellat; "se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul, et praesidio missum." Deinde eum et proxumum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post, ubi castra locata, et die vesper erat, repente Maurus [t]incerto voltu ad Sullam adcurrit: "sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse:" simul, uti noctu clam secum profugeret, rogat atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci negat "se toties fusum Numidam pertimescere: virtuti suorum satis credere: etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius, quam proditis, quos ducebat, turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post paullo morbo interiturae vitae parceret." Ceterum ab eodem monitus, uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium adprobat: ac statim milites [u]coenatos esse, in castris ignis quam creberrumos fieri, dein [v]prima vigilia silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus, Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, cum equites Mauri nun-

[s] *Expedire*, &c. They put off all incumbrances, or got ready, tried their arms and weapons, and were intent on an engagement. The word *intendere* seems to refer to the bows, which some of the troops used.

[t] *Incerto voltu.* With looks of confusion.

[u] *Cœnatos esse.* To get their supper over. Supper was the principal meal among the Romans, and the only meal to which they regularly sat down together. It had its name, *cœna*, accordingly from κοινος, *communis*, and was taken at 3 P. M. in summer, and at 4 in winter. The dinner, *prandium*, was a slight meal, without any preparation, frequently taken standing, especially by the soldiers.

[v] *Prima vigilia.* The Romans divided the night into four watches, beginning at sunset, and ending at sunrise. The Greeks divided it into three watches.

ciant, "Jugurtham circiter duûm millium intervallo ante consedisse." Quod postquam auditum, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit: credere, proditos a Voluce, et insidiis circumventos. Ac fuere, qui dicerent, [w]manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

CVII. AT Sulla, quamquam eadem aestumabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet: suos hortatur, "uti fortem animum gererent: saepe antea paucis strenuis advorsum multitudinem bene pugnatum: quanto sibi in praelio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore: nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere; in maxumo metu nudum et [x]caecum corpus ad hostis vortere." Deinde Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, maxumum Jovem obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae Bocchi testis adesset, castris abire jubet. Ille lacrumans orare, "ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factum, magis calliditate Jugurthae, cui speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. Ceterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent, illum nihil palam ausurum, cum ipse filius testis adesset: quare [y]optumum factum videri, [z]per media ejus castra palam transire: sese, vel praemissis, vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sulla iturum." Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata, ac statim profecti: quia de improviso [a]acciderant, dubio atque haesitante Ju-

w *Manu vindicandum. Manu vindicare* signifies to take immediate vengeance, without waiting for the formality of a trial.

x *Cæcum corpus.* The back, which has no eyes.

y *Optumum factum*, &c. That it seemed to be the best or wisest measure.

z *Per media ejus castra.* Probably Jugurtha had encamped his men in two divisions, between which Sylla passed.

a *Acciderant. Ea* must be understood. Other editions give *accesserant*, which I should rather approve.

gurtha, incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum.

CVIII. IBI cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomine, multum et familiariter agebat: praemissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, [b]orator, et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia: praeterea Dabar, Massugradae filius, ex gente Masinissae, ceterum materno genere impar; [c]pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat; Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus acceptusque: quem Bocchus fidum Romanis multis antea tempestatibus expertus, illico ad Sullam nunciatum mittit, "paratum sese facere, quae populus Romanus vellet: colloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse [d]dilegeret: [e]consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere: neu Jugurthae legatum pertimesceret: [f]quo res communis [g]licentius gereretur; nam ab insidiis ejus aliter caveri nequivisse." Sed ego comperior, Bocchum magis [h]Punica fide, quam ob quae praedicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis adtinuisse, multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum, Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam traderet: lubidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

[b] *Orator.* As his agent. Ambassadors were formerly so called.

[c] *Pater.* In some editions *nam pater.*

[d] *Dilegeret.* An archaism for *diligeret.*

[e] *Consulta—integra.* That he had left every subject of consultation undetermined, until he could take them into consultation in conjunction with him.

[f] *Quo,* &c. In order to have a complete idea of the author's meaning, we must understand *illum enim adhibitum esse,* or words equivalent.

[g] *Licentius.* With more freedom.

[h] *Punica fide.* From the frequent breaches of compact, with which the Carthaginians were charged by the Romans, *Punica fides* became a proverbial expression among them for bad faith. *Attica fides,* on the contrary, implied sincerity, honesty, good faith.

CIX. IGITUR [i]Sulla: "pauca coram Aspare locuturum; cetera occulte, aut nullo, aut quam paucissumis praesentibus:" simul edocet, quae responderentur. Postquam, sicuti voluerat, congressi, dicit, "se missum a consule venisse quaesitum ab eo, pacem, an bellum agitaturus foret." Tum rex, uti praeceptum, post diem decimum redire jubet; ac, nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum: deinde ambo [k]in sua castra digressi. Sed, ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte arcessitur: ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur: praeterea Dabar [l]internuncius, sanctus vir et ex sententia [m]ambobus. Ac statim sic rex incipit.

CX. "NUMQUAM ego ratus sum fore, uti rex maxumus in hac terra, et omnium quos [n]novi, privato homini gratiam deberem. Et hercle, Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id [o]imminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor: [p]fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando amicitiae tuae, qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id [q]adeo experiri licet:

i *Sulla. Respondit* being understood; in some editions it is expressed.

k *In sua castra.* Aspar and Sylla separated to go, each to his own camp, i. e. Aspar to that of Jugurtha, and Sylla either to the place where his party were encamped, or to the camp of Marius.

l *Internuncius.* The common friend or confident both of Bocchus and Sylla, a man of honour or respectability, and perfectly suitable to the wishes of both. This sentence is concise and highly elegant.

m *Ambobus.* After this word *jurat* is expressed in some editions, and *et* omitted before *ex*.

n *Novi.* This word is in some editions followed by *opulentissimus*, which gives quite a different turn to the sense.

o *Imminutum.* Altered.

p *Fuerit.* Let it have been so; or, it may be advantageous to me. In some editions *pretium* is expressed after *mihi*.

q *Adeo.* He might accordingly make trial.

arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo lubet, sume, utere: et, quoad vives, numquam redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me [r]integra erit: denique nihil, me sciente, frustra voles. Nam, ut ego aestumo, regem armis, quam munificentia, vinci, minus flagitiosum. Ceterum de re publica vestra, cujus [s]curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci, neque [t]factum umquam volui: finis meos advorsum armatos armis tutus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ita placet: gerite, uti voltis, cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego [u]flumen Mulucham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare sinam. Praeterea, si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis."

CXI. AD ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice; de pace et de communibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique regi patefacit, quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam amplius armis valuissent, non in [v]gratiam habituros: faciundum aliquid, quod illorum magis, quam sua, retulisse videretur: id adeo [w]in promtu esse, quoniam Jugurthae copiam haberet: quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, uti illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, foedus, Numidiae partem, quam nunc peteret, ultro adventuram." Rex primo negitare: "adfinitatem, cognationem, praeterea foedus intervenisse: ad hoc metuere, ne [x]fluxa fide usus, popularium animos avorteret, quîs et Jugurtha carus, et Romani invisi

r *Integra.* Its value shall always be undiminished; the favour shall always be considered as uncompensated.

s *Curator.* Whose agent.

t *Factum—volui.* For *facere volui.*

u *Flumen—egrediar.* *Egrediar* is here used for *transgrediar.*

v *Gratiam.* In some editions *gratia.*

w *In promtu,* &c. That this was an easy matter, since he had Jugurtha in his power.

x *Fluxa fide usus,* &c. If he acted treacherously.

erant.[v] Denique saepius fatigatus, leniter et ex voluntate Sullae omnia se facturum promittit. Ceterum ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida, defessus bello, avidissumus, quae utilia visa, constituunt. Ita, composito dolo, digrediuntur.

CXII. AT rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthae legatum adpellat: "[y]sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse conditionibus bellum [z]poni: quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret." Ille laetus in castra Jugurthae venit. Deinde ab illo cuncta edoctus, properato itinere, post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum, et ei nunciat, "Jugurtham cupere omnia, quae imperarentur, facere; sed Mario parum confidere: saepe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse. Ceterum si ambobus consultum, et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus, quasi de pace, in colloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet: cum talem virum [a]in potestatem haberet, fore, uti jussu senatus atque populi Romani foedus fieret: neque hominem nobilem, non sua [b]ignavia, sed ob rempublicam in hostium potestate, relictum iri."

CXIII. HAEC Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit; ceterum [c]dolo, an vere, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiae voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, saepe [d]ipsae sibi advorsae. Postea tempore et loco constituto, [in colloquium uti de pace veniretur] Bocchus Sullam

y *Sibi. Dicit* understood; in some editions it is expressed.

z *Poni.* For *componi*, the simple for the compound.

a *In potestatem. In* with the sense of *intra.* In good authors *in* is sometimes used indiscriminately with the accusative or ablative, without being regulated by the commonly received principles of motion or rest.

b *Ignavia.* Cowardice, indolence.

c *Dolo, an vere.* Deceitfully, or sincerely. *Vere* is in some editions followed by *cunctatus*.

d *Ipsæ sibi adversæ.* Self-contradictory.

modo, modo Jugurthae legatum adpellare, benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter laeti, ac spei bonae pleni. Sed nocte ea, quae proxuma fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus, adhibitis amicis, ac statim immutata voluntate [e]remotis, dicitur secum ipse multa agitavisse, [f]voltu corporis pariter, atque animo varius: quae scilicet, tacente ipso, occulta [g]pectoris patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam arcessiri jubet, et ex ejus sententia Numidae insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit, et ei nunciatum est, Jugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et quaestore nostro, quasi obvius honoris caussa, procedit in tumulum, facillumum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis, inermus, ut dictum, accedit; ac statim, signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obtruncati: Jugurtha Sullae vinctus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus.

CXIV. PER idem tempus advorsum [h]Gallos ab ducibus nostris, Q. Caepione et M. Manlio, male pugnatum; quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. [i]Illique et, [k]inde ad nostram memoriam, Romani sic habuere; alia omnia virtuti suae prona esse; cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria [l]certare. Sed,

[e] *Remotis.* Here refers to *amicis*, and is contrasted with *adhibitis*. In other editions *remotis* is followed by *cæteris*.

[f] *Voltu*, &c. In some editions *vultu, colore, et motu corporis;* but *voltu corporis* is a pleonastical mode of expression, which has several parallels in our author; as *timor animi, virtus animi*, &c. &c.

[g] *Pectoris patefecisse.* In some editions *pectoris, oris immutatione patefecisse.*

[h] *Gallos.* These tribes here and elsewhere called *Galli*, were originally Germans. They were the Cimbri, Teutones, and Tigurini, and were a very numerous people.

[i] *Illique.* The order of this sentence is *illique Romani, et Romani inde ad nostram*, &c. Both the Romans of that day, and thence downwards even to our time.

[k] *Inde.* In some editions *usque.*

[l] *Certare.* In some editions *certari.*

postquam bellum in Numidia confectum, et Jugurtham vinctum adduci Romam nunciatum est, Marius consul [m]absens factus, et ei decreta provincia Gallia: isque [n]Kalendis Januariis magna gloria consul triumphavit. Ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae.

[m] *Absens.* This was a violation of law. No person was allowed to be a candidate, unless he was at Rome.

[n] *Kalendis Januariis.* The first of January, the time when the consul entered on his office.

GENERAL REMARKS.

EXAMPLES of the ancient orthography, which are very frequent in Sallust, have been generally pointed out in the preceding notes. The principal of these are: the use of an *o* for an *e*, as *vorto* for *verto;* of *u* for *i*, as *optumus* for *optimus;* of *e* for *i*, as *intellego* for *intelligo;* of *u* for *e*, as *referundum* for *referendum;* of *is* for *es* in the plural accusatives of nouns, as *partis* for *partes;* of *e* for *æ*, as *ceteri* for *cæteri;* of *ss* for *s*, as *caussa* for *causa;* of *ll* for *l*, as *paullo* for *paulo;* of an *m* for an *n*, as *umquam* for *unquam;* the omission of *p* in some words, as *sumtus* for *sumptus*, &c.

In other authors the last letter of the preposition, when annexed to the verb, is, in particular cases, for the sound's sake, changed into the first letter of the verb; in Sallust the preposition, when annexed to the verb, in most of these cases, remains unchanged: hence we find him constantly using *adfero* for *affero*, *adgredior* for *aggredior*, *ecferens* for *efferens*, &c. In this last case, the original form of the preposition, as derived from the Greek ἐκ, is retained. When the preposition *ex* in composition precedes *s*, the *s* in other authors is commonly omitted; in Sallust, it is retained; as *exsequor* for *exequor*, *exstruo* for *extruo*.

There are several other peculiarities in Sallust, adverted to in the notes; as the use of the frequentative for the simple verb, which occurs in almost every page; and of the infinitive mood for the perfect, or imperfect of the indicative, especially for the latter; a practice more common in this author than in any of the classics. Some words also, which, in other au-

thors, always appear in a contracted form, in Sallust are sometimes written at length, as *tamen etsi* for *tametsi*, *animum advorto* for *animadverto*.

The reader will recollect, when reviewing the geographical notes, that the boundaries of countries were frequently altered by conquest, partition, &c. and became, of course, very different in different ages. The design of the notes did not admit a particular enumeration of the various changes that took place from time to time in each country.

Some of the variations between the text of Cortius, and that exhibited in other editions, are also marked in the notes. A detail of them all would have swelled the book to an inconvenient size.

The same, or similar notes, will be found sometimes repeated. This repetition was often intended, to confirm observations previously made; in other cases it was unintentional, but unavoidable; when the editor had not access to the sheets already printed off.

Notwithstanding all the pains that have been taken to preserve accuracy, errors may have been overlooked, which the liberality of the reader will pardon.

FINIS.